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**MADRAS**

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तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

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## THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIKIYA-PRĀTIŚĀKHYA

BY

C. R. SANKARAN,

*Poona.*

(Continued from Page 73, Vol. XIV, Part 1.)

A large number of Indo-European languages carry a strong musical accent on the syllable following the chief tone whereby a word is differentiated from another. The difference between Serb. nom. *dīša* 'soul' and acc. *dūśū*, does not, however, merely consist in the fact that in the first case the tone rises and in the second case falls, but also on the fact that the second syllable in the first case is musically high, and in the second case is deep; and besides, their loudness is also different.

Similar is the case with Swedish where one differentiates between two accents. In the case of the second accent a musically higher tone lies on the last syllable.

This is musically higher than the accented radical syllable. H. Hirt says that the difference carries a Quint [A quint is equivalent to 13 śruti (=702C.) *Vide*: Handbuch der Physik. Band VIII. Akustik. Kapitel 9. Musikalische Tonsysteme Von E. M. V. Hornbostel, Berlin 1927, page 437. This is a strict corroboration of the fact that if *udātta* is sung on the *Niṣāda* note, the *svarita* can be sung on the *madhyama* note. *see below*].

Also in Indian, there lies on the syllable after the tone an accent different from that having the tone, namely the *svarita* as against the *anudātta*. More things can be collected from other languages.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the *Nebenton* is often also the tone on the syllable following the *chief-toned-syllable*; the Indians call it *svarita* and because it is quite systematically marked, it must have

1. Cp. H. Hirt, Der Akzent, Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil V. Heidelberg 1929, pages 12-13. But "the so-called *svarita* is a syllable accent in the Indian but has nothing to do with the Indo-Germanic." cf. H. Hirt, *loc. cit.*, page 187, Section 128.

been very clearly heard. This is not surprising because such a *svarita* is found even in languages spoken to-day.

So there is in German dialects such a *Nebenton* on the syllable following the chief-tone (*Hauptton*) for example *hess. memmē*. It is also to be assumed in the west Germanic languages, because here the short vowels *i* and *u* are retained after shorter *chief-toned-syllable* (*Haupttonssibbe*).

In Swedish many words have a peculiar tone on the last syllable.

Similarly in Serbian there is quite an important difference between Nom. *dūša* and Acc. *dūšu* 'Soul'.

In the first case, the second syllable lies higher than the first syllable and it has also a somewhat noticeable loudness. Therefore the first syllable must have a rising tone, in order to reach the height of the second.

In the second case, the vowel of the second syllable lies deep, and its loudness is so small that the vowel in many cases gets completely lost. In any case the loss of the vowel brings about a kind of falling tone. (*Vide* H. Hirt, Der Akzent. page 19.)

"Of the two which come in a circumflex, the first note is higher in Greek." (*Vide*: Wackernagel. Das Zeugnis der griech. Hymnen über den griech Akzent, Rhein Mus 51, 304 ff. H. Hirt, *op. cit.*, page 33.)

The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* cites the discordant opinions of other authorities too. सर्वः प्रवण इत्येके (Taitt. Prāt. III, 47). "It is all a slide, say some."

आदिरस्योदात्तसमः शेषोऽनुदात्तसम इत्याचार्यः

(*ibid.* III, 46).

"The beginning is the same with acute; its remainder is the same with grave: so say the teachers." [Pāṇini seems to follow in his grammar only this latter school of thought. Hence is his sūtra समाहारः स्वरितः (P. I, 2, 31.)] (*Vide also* Benfey, Kurze Sanskrit Grammatik. p. 6, Section 30, 4).

"The single syllable into which the higher and lower tones are combined still retains the double pitch belonging to its constituent parts in what is technically called the *Kṣaipra* variety of *svarita*, for example, *vi* and *evā* are combined into *vyevā*.

In the *abhinihita* (or by Taitt. Prāt., *abhinihata*) variety of *svarita* too, the acute and grave tones of the constituent elements are both represented in the syllable that results from their combination, as for example *só abravīt* becomes *sò abravīt*. [Vide Whitney, On the Nature and Designation of the Accent in Sanskrit, pages 16-27. Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869-'70.]

"The circumflex in Greek περισπωμένη is a combined tone." [Vide H. Hirt, Der Akzent, page 37.]

Porphyrios expressly says that the circumflex is combined out of acute and grave. [Vide: Anecdota Graeca. Vol. II, page 757, lines 15-17. Dion. Thrac., 705, 26.]

According to Misteli and Hadley, enclitic *svarita* is "middle tone". [Vide Misteli's article über die accentuation des griechischen in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. XVII, pages 81-134. 161-194 and Volume XIX, pages 81-103. See also Berichtigung (zur accentlehre) by Franz Misteli in Volume XXI of Kuhn's Zeitschrift, pages 16-17. Cf. Hadley, On the Nature and Theory of the Greek Accent in Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869-70, page 11.] G. Curtius, reviewing Bopp's Accentuation system in Jahn's jahr-bücher (1855, Vol. 71), expresses the opinion that the grave accent, where it forms the second part of the circumflex, represents not the ordinary low tone of the word, but an intermediate tone in Greek. For further references on the theory of middle tone in Greek, see Hadley's article in Transactions of American Philological Association, 1869-70, pages 9 and 10. Compare also Ascoli (Corsi di Glottologia etc. first part, Comparative Phonology of the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin 1877, page 15.)

Whitney says the following on this subject:—

"This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are

identical with one another in treatment and designation" [Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, Fourth edition, Section 85.]

"Whitney's opinion with regard to the enclitic *svarita*, while it denies it the name of middle tone, does, we can see, nevertheless support a kind of tone which does not lie very far removed in its nature from that middle tone in favour of which Misteli and Hadley argue" [Vide: Historical and Critical Remarks. Introductory to a study of Greek Accent by Maurice Bloomfield. American Journal of Philology. Volume IV. (1883), page 45.]

M. Seshagiri Sastri was also inclined to favour the view that the *svarita* occupies a somewhat middling position [Vide A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Volume I, Vedic Literature. First Part 1901, pages 4 and 75. See also Brugmann, Grundriss English Translation. Volume I, Section 673, page 539.]

Although it may be true that in the pre-vedic period, the enclitic *svarita* might have been a middle tone, it must be certain that in the historical period its nature must be as described by the *Rk-Prātiśākhya* III. 4 (already quoted), for this latter tradition alone is kept up now among *Srautis*.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in distinction to Pāṇini and Śākala Śākhā *Samhitā* of the *Rg-Veda*, the Kāshmīr MSS. of the *Rg-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda* and the grammarian Kātyāyana distinguish the independent *svarita* sharply from the *svarita* which followed an *udātta* syllable. [Vide R. L. Turner: "The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāthi" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1916, page 206.]

It is curious indeed that in a *sūtra* of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, we find some authorities denying *in toto* the enclitic circumflex. सर्वो नेत्येके (Taitt. Prāt. XIV, 33.)

Neither the *Atharva-Veda Prātiśākhya*, nor the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā Prātiśākhya* gives such a definition of the circumflex; and yet as Whitney says, the theory of the *pracaya* accent so manifestly recognizes and implies it that one cannot believe otherwise than that its statement is omitted by them although it really forms part of their system. If the voice has already, in the utterance of the enclitic *svarita*, sunk to the actual grave

pitch, it can scarcely be believed that it should be called upon to rise again to the level of acute for the utterance of the following unaccented syllables: while, on the other hand, if the circumflex be bodily removed to a higher plane in the scale, and made to end at acute pitch, the following grave syllables might be naturally enough supposed to run at the same level.<sup>1</sup>

To distinguish the actual acute occurring after the grave syllables succeeding a circumflex (which are also uttered at acute pitch) provision seems to have been made for, in the recognition of *anudāttatara* (cf. स्वरितोदात्ते अनन्तरं अनुदात्तम्· *Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya*, iii, 74. “But the syllable immediately preceding a circumflex or acute is grave”.)

In the XV chapter of the *Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya*, there is the citation of the opinions of various authorities as to the mode of utterance of the sacred syllable *Om*. The third sūtra in this chapter reads as follows:—

धृतप्रचयः कौण्डिन्यस्य<sup>2</sup>

The following is Whitney's translation of this sūtra. “According to Kaṇḍinya, it is a sustained pracaya.”<sup>3</sup> But Whitney does not make himself sure whether it might have been better to follow the lead of Somayārya (the author of the

1. *Vide* the note under the *Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya*, iii, 65, Whitney's edition.

2. Another reading is धृतः प्रचयः कौण्डिन्यस्य *Vide* Mysore edition of the *Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya* Bibliotheca Sanskrita No. 33, page 451. Cf. Die *Vyāsa Siksā* besonders in ihrem Verhältnis Zum *Taittiriya Prātiśākhya* Von Dr. Heinrich Lüders, Von der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Gottingen gekrönte Preis-schrift (1895), page 84.

3. I am indebted to my revered Professor M. M. Kuppawami Śāstrigal for suggesting to me a more happy and an appropriate equivalent ‘constant’ to the Sanskrit term ‘*dhṛta*’ for in the scheme of Sāman music *dhṛta* is the name given to the *basic svara* or the *tonic note*, the other *svaras*—*krusṭa*, *prathama* and *dvitiya* on the one side and *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atisvārya* on the other side being variations of the *utkṣepa* (=ascending) and *apakṣepa* (=descending) type. See below. Maxmuller in his edition of the *Rk-Prātiśākhya* (page cclxxiii) calls प्रचय “Mittlere Haltung.”

commentary *Tribhāṣyaratna* on the *Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya*) who treats *dhrta-pracaya* as being equivalent to the simple *pracaya*.<sup>1</sup>

The commentator, as Whitney points out, meets the objection that in XIX, 2. (प्रचयपूर्वश्च कौण्डन्यस्य) the use of the term

1. That the word *dhrta*, by itself, is taken to be a synonym of *pracaya* appears from the following verses said to occur in the *Vyāsa Sīksā*:-

प्रचयश्च बुधः प्रोक्त उदात्तश्रुतिरित्यपि ।

स्वारः शीर्षे मुखेऽप्युच्च प्रचयो निहतो द्वादि ॥

[नीचोच्चस्वारधृताश्चैव विजेया: प्रजापतौ ॥]

(Note that the metre is defective in the two pādas of the second stanza.) For the first stanza quoted here. *Vide Vyāsa-Sīksā. Svaradharma Sāmhitā Prakaranam* edited by Venkatārāma Sharman, Madras University Journal, Volume II, Supplement, Stanza 148, page 16. The second stanza is not found in this edition of *Vyāsa Sīksā*. But in *Hatasvaravinyāsa Prakaraṇam* of that edition, we find the following:-

नीचस्वारधृतोदात्तानङ्गुष्ठग्रेण निर्दिशेत् ॥

(Verse 164, page 18).

"This passage (as Kielhorn says) shows that the reading of the *Pāṇiniya Sīksā* V, 43,

उदात्तमाख्याति वृषोऽङ्गुलीनां प्रदेशिनीमूलनिविष्टमूर्धा ।

उपान्तमध्ये स्वरितं धृतं च कनिष्ठिकायामनुदात्तमेव ॥

धृतं च, ought not to have been altered to धृतश्च, and that the word उपान्तमध्य should have been translated by 'the ring and the middle fingers'. (Indische Studien, Volume IV, page 365.) The following verses of *Bharatabhāṣya* called *Sarasvatihṛdayabhūṣana* (Paper manuscript deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona). A transcript of this is available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library from which alone I am quoting here) [See chapter II (towards the end in शिक्षाध्याय) page 18], the author of which professes to have studied the sīksās of *Pāṇini*, *Nārada* and *Āpaśali*, are evidently based on the verse of the *Pāṇiniya Sīksā* referred to in the above:-

अङ्गुष्ठस्य मुखाग्रेण तर्जनीमूलसारणात् ।

उदात्तः स स्वरो नाम वेदविर्द्धरुदाहृतः ॥

कनिष्ठामूलसंस्पर्शादनुदात्त इति स्मृतः ।

स्वरितोऽनामिकामूलसंस्पर्शाद्यः स्वरो भवेत् ॥

मध्यमामूलतो विद्यात् प्रचितं स्पर्शनादपि ।

*Vide:* Remarks on the *Sīksās* by Dr. Kielhorn. Indian Antiquary, Volume V, page 143, footnote.

प्रचय itself is attributed to this same Kauṇḍinya, and that hence it should have been used here also. Somayārya answers the objection as follows:—

“On the principle that even where there is no difference of meaning there may be a difference of application, the teacher exhibits a nicety of application: other examples of the principle are the names of Bhīmasena and Bhīma, Satyā and Satyabhāma, pidhānam and apidhānam, dīpa and pradīpa. So by this pair of words *dhṛta* and *pracaya* even an appellation is given”.

[ननु—‘प्रचयपूर्वक कौण्डिन्यस्य’ (XIX, 2.) इतिवत् प्रचय इत्येतावतैवालम् । किं धृतशब्देन ? मैवम् । पदद्वयेनाप्यनेन नामधेयमेव अभिधीयते । तथा हि—

अर्थभेदाभावेऽपि प्रयोगभेदोऽस्तीति प्रयोगचातुर्यमाचार्यः प्रकटयति । यथा—भीमसेनो भीमः, सत्यभामा सत्या, पिधानम् अपिधानम्, दीपः प्रदीप इत्यादि ।

Mysore edition, page 451.]

The *pracaya* is defined as the fourth accent (चतुर्थः स्वरो ‘धृतप्रचयः’ इति कथ्यते, page 452, Mysore edition). We have already seen how it is explained in the twenty-first chapter (XXI, 10); it is there said to be of the same tone as *udātta*; ‘acute’; so that unless *dhṛta* is to be regarded as signifying a modification, one does not see in what respect *Kaundinya*’s opinion differs from that of *Valmiki*, given in rule 6 of the XVIII chapter.<sup>1</sup>

1. उदात्तो वा वाल्मीकेः. At one stage, our ancients must have keenly felt conscious of the labouring struggle to reach or touch occasionally the fourth *svara* from the original three notes. (*Vide* M. S. Ramaswami Iyer’s Introduction to Svaramela Kalānidhi p. lxviii). When this consciousness was not wide awake, the theorists could not but bring ‘प्रचय’ under उदात्त, for as Fox Strangways says (*Vide* Music of Hindostan, p. 248), if in a chant of only three notes, प्रचय is to be distinguished from *anudātta*, it could not well have any other place. It is curious but interesting to note that the author of the *Nārada Sīkṣā*, in one place rejects the view that प्रचय is the fourth *svara*.

य एव उदात्त इत्युक्तः स एव स्वरितात्परः ।

प्रचयः प्रोच्यते तज्ज्ञैः न चात्रान्यत्स्वरान्तरम् ॥

*Nārada Sīkṣā*, I. VIII, Verse 2,

## PRESERVE THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS

BY

S. R. BALASUBRHMANVAN, M.A., L.T.,

*Chidambaram.*

### I. THE ROLE OF THE TEMPLE.

The temple in the past played many parts and had many attractions to the people. Though it was chiefly a place of public worship, it was also a centre of varied social activity—a beehive of communal enterprise. It was a centre of learning. Colleges and schools were conducted, and Vedas, Purāṇas and religious hymns were expounded therein. Libraries called *Sarasvatī Bhāṇḍāram* were located in it. Hospitals were, in some cases, attached to it. Music—vocal and instrumental—was practised therein. The people displayed their artistic skill in temple architecture. While most of the secular buildings of the past have perished, religious monuments have miraculously survived. Sculpture and painting were mostly confined to religious subjects and the temple was thus truly a museum of ancient art. The temple managed public trusts by controlling gifts of lands and money endowments made to it. It lent its surplus funds to people in times of distress and in return arranged for religious services to the deities. Above all it was a public record office. This is how it is historically of incalculable value. The royal orders, the grants and decisions of public bodies like the village assembly (*Ūr* or *Sabhā*), the merchant guilds (*Nagaram*), Provincial assemblies (*The Nādu*) and the gifts of private individuals were all recorded and engraved on temple walls. The original documents were generally on cadjan leaves or copper plates and these leaves or copper plates were deposited for the sake of safe custody in the temple treasury—the *Bhāṇḍāram*. While most of these original documents have perished in the various revolutions that have taken place, the temple walls have wonderfully preserved what were merely the copies of the originals; and great is the value of these records to the historian.

## II. PRASASTIS AND THEIR VALUE.

It has been said that India has no recorded history. This is only true in a very limited sense—namely that there are very few professedly historical works, like the *Rājatarāṅgaṇī* or the *Harṣacarita*. But almost all ancient Hindu kings had maintained elaborate records of every important public transaction. Yuan Chwang the Chinese pilgrim has recorded (7th century A.D.) how in Harṣa's kingdom official records of all events were kept up in each province by special officers. This is no isolated phenomenon. Indian inscriptions—chiefly South Indian—reveal the existence of an active and able body of bureaucracy which had been carrying on in an efficient manner the work of the maintenance and preservation of all public transactions of the land like the charitable grants, revenue collections, remission of land revenue, land survey, dealings between central and local bodies, etc.

But in one respect South Indian inscriptions are unique. While only a few *Prasastis* (records of praiseworthy deeds of kings) are available about the kings of Northern India like the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, every inscription of South India from about the 10th century onwards is a chapter of South Indian History. Every public transaction is recorded on the walls of the temple in whose neighbourhood the endowed property was situated or where the assembly met for making the grant or carrying out the transaction.

Sometimes when a gift in one village is made to a temple in another village, or when the transaction relates to more than one temple or village, it is recorded in more than one place. In very many cases full astronomical details of the day of the transaction are furnished which enables us to find out their exact equivalents in modern Christian era with the help of the Ephemeris. Every transaction is recorded to have taken place in a particular regnal year of a king. Before his name we have a long historical introduction generally in verse, which recounts all the important achievements of the reign. The *Prasasti* (in Tamil it is called *Meykkirtti*) grows in length along with the passage of time and the progress of events in his reign. The *Prasasti* of one is different from that of another. The introductory part of this historical introduction varies from king to king. The *Prasasti* of Rājarāja I begins with the formula “*Tirumakal pōla*” and that of his son Rājendra I

"Tisumanni Vaṭara", so that by a perusal of the beginning of the historical introduction, we can declare at once the name of the king to whom it belongs. It is this part of the inscription that is of the utmost value to the historian.

Thus it will be clear that every temple was a public record office and every epigraph a page of history of the land and it is amazing how much of recorded history there is in South Indian temples.

### III. SCIENTIFIC RENOVATION.

The old stone structural temples of the Pallavas and Early Colas—Hindu, Jain or Buddhist—were massive structures strongly built, and they could stand many centuries. There was ample and systematic provision in the past for their careful preservation and maintenance in good repair. If on account of neglect or old age any monument needed repair, it could be reconstructed with the old materials without the addition of a single stone. The Dutch archaeologists of Java employed this method of scientific renovation in the case of the renowned Buddhist monument of Borobudur and the Hindu-Javanese monuments of the Dutch East Indies. The example of the Dutch was followed by the French archaeologists of Indo-China and in 1930 M. Marchal was deputed to Java in order to acquaint himself with the methods followed by the Dutch Archaeological Survey. Here is a description of the method adopted by M. Marchal who tried his newly learnt art in the case of the temple of Banteay Srei. "It was in a ruined condition, but practically all the stones were in existence around the foot of the building. Among the three towers forming the central group the one to the south was the first to be attacked. Marchal began by making an accurate survey comprising drawings and photographs. Then he reconstructed on the ground, the upper storeys which had collapsed long ago. This part of the work having been accomplished, he proceeded to demolish the portions of the structure still standing, carefully assorting and numbering each separate stone. Then, after having strengthened the foundations by means of a layer of concrete, he rebuilt the successive storeys of the tower one after the other." Such is the care and reverence for the monuments of the past and such is the method of scientific renovation followed by enlightened people who value historic relics. It is

with pleasure that I record here that this wise method of renovation has been followed by my friend Mr. K. V. Raju, former Curator of the Pudukotah museum--(by himself and without any inspiration from the practice of Dutch and French Archaeologists)—in repairing the valuable temples of the Pudukotah State. The Subrahmanya temple at Kannanur, the Vijayālaya Coliśvaram at Nārttāmalai, and the Müvarkoil shrines at Kođumbälür have been thus scientifically treated. But look at the ruthless and wanton destruction going on in our midst in British India.

#### IV. TEMPLE VANDALISM—(*a few historic cases*).

I shall cite a few famous cases of wilful destruction of our ancient monuments. The Buddhist Stūpa at Amarāvati was built of marble by the Andhra Kings in the 2nd century A. D. In the 18th century (1797) a petty local Rājā razed this marble monument to the ground and used parts thereof as building material. The sculptured panels and pillars were demolished and even partly burnt to lime. Seven pieces of this Stūpa are kept in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and 160 pieces were sent to the British Muscum. In 1831 T. Burgess examined the site and collected 400 pieces more and they are now preserved in the Madras Museum.

Let me take another instance, that of Gaṅgaikonda Colapuram—the creation of Rājendra Cola I as the new Cola capital in commemoration of his victory of the region as far as the Ganges. In his new capital he also built a temple on the model of that built by his illustrious father at Tanjore. Here is the account which appeared in a local publication of 1855. “Speaking of the noble temple of Gaṅgaikonda Colapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Colerun *anikat* was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures, which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their best to prevent this destruction and spoilation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it, but, of course, without success; *they were only punished for contempt*. A promise was made indeed that a wall of brick should be built in the place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed.” What a commentary on the ignorance and

arrogance of those engineers! Fortunately, the main temple was not touched.

The temple of Tiruviḍaimarudūr in the Tanjore District is a place of great antiquity. It had nearly 151 inscriptions on its walls and on those of the maṇḍapas close to the shrine. They related to the kings of many dynasties—Cola, Pāṇḍya, later Pallava and Vijayanagar, ranging over a period of nearly 700 years.\* This temple has undergone renovation and most of these valuable records have been lost for ever. It is the same sad tale whenever a modern renovation of an ancient temple takes place.

A temple that is threatened with a similar fate in the near future is that at Tiruvaiyāru (Trivadi) in the Tanjore District. The Viṣṇu temple in this locality has been completely re-constructed. Next will be the turn, I understand, of the Śaivite shrines in the place. There are two shrines in this compound. The older is called the Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa and perhaps it was

* Dynasty.	No. of inscriptions.	King's name.	Regnal years ranging from
<i>Cola</i>	24	Parakesarivarman	2—16 years
	9	Rājakesarivarman	3—17 "
	33	Parāntaka I	7—38 "
	8	Parakesarivarman (who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya)	4—14 "
	1	Uttamacola	13th year
	6	Rājarāja I	2—16 years
	4	Rājendracola I	3—20 "
	1	Rājādhirāja I	32nd year
	9	Kulottuṅga I	4—49 years
	29	Vikramacola	3—10 "
<i>Later Pallava</i>	1	Kulottuṅga II	8th year
	4	Kulottuṅga III	12—28 years
	3	Rājarāja III	2—27 "
<i>Pāṇḍya</i>	1	Kopperuñciṅka	18th year
	1	Vikrama Pāṇḍya	3rd year
<i>Vijayanagar</i>	1	Acyuta deva Rāya	Śaka 1456
	1	Sadāśiva Rāya	A. D. 1534
	15	Miscellaneous	Śaka 1466 A. D. 1544 ..

one built in the days of Āditya (acc. 871 A. D.). It contains many inscriptions of early Cola, Pāndya and Vijayanagar rulers. The other is the foundation of a Cola queen of Rāja Rāja I called Lokamahādevī who lavished many costly gifts of jewels and ornaments and made innumerable endowments for the up-keep of various temple-services.

#### V. EFFORTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

In the year 1935, the Archaeological department of India issued a very important communique on the subject of "Preservation of Ancient Monuments". They pointed out that Southern India has "a rich heritage in its large number of temples, remarkable alike for their size and the wealth of sculptural and epigraphical material", that "the importance of the inscriptions which are veritable mines of information regarding the life and times of the princes and peoples in the past ages cannot be exaggerated, that well-informed public opinion should range itself on the side of those who are making efforts to preserve these priceless materials for posterity". At the same time they condemned the baneful practice of white-washing the walls which resulted in considerable damage to sculptures and inscriptions, and the indiscriminate burning of lamps on sculptures, pillars, panes and inscribed slabs and the practice of modern renovators—chiefly the Nagarattār community—of chiselling out old inscriptions on stones and using them as ordinary building material without regard to the records and carvings found on them.

There is also need for greater co-ordination between the departments of Epigraphy and Archaeology so that we may derive the fullest benefit by their collaboration. Is there not a case even for unification of these two departments under a single officer?

#### VI. OUR DUTY TO PRESERVE THIS RICH HERITAGE.

A renovated temple can boast of a new structure but not an architecture. The historical association, the epigraphs and works of art of the past have a charm of their own. It must be our duty to preserve as far as possible the ancient character of our old temples. In case the temple renovation is indispensable, it should be done on scientific lines as indicated above. If not, careful plans and diagrams have to be prepared, photographs taken of these old shrines before destruction of each

part. All the inscriptions have to be copied fully. Then the stones of each wall should be numbered and after careful dismantling should be reassembled in a part of the wide quadrangle of the temple under the guidance of Archaeological officers, so that they may be a source of inspiration to future generations and an object of additional attraction to the temple. The cost of these inscribed stones as building material is insignificant to a charitably minded benefactor, who, at considerable cost, renovates a temple, but their value from an historical, archaeological or aesthetic point of view is considerable.

The Archaeological department has rightly emphasised the need for a well-informed public opinion to range itself on the side of those who strive for the preservation of these monuments; secondly, on the good sense and cultural conscience of renovators; and thirdly, on the timely help that may be rendered by Hindu Religious Endowments Board.

India is a vast country. Her monuments are many. Workers are few and their voice is feeble. The cultural conscience of the people has not yet been stirred. The monuments are being demolished in hundreds every year, without our knowledge or even a protest from the public. Let the department and the public concentrate all their attention on one monument and save it. If we succeed in one place we shall succeed in others. Tiruvaiyāru offers such an opportunity. Will the public rise equal to the occasion? The Hindu Religious Endowments Board has no greater cause or nobler end to serve, or more sacred duty to discharge, than this. The Collector of the district has vast powers and personal influence. He can by persuasion try to save the monuments in his jurisdiction from the ravages of an ignorant renovator who in the name of religion and piety unwittingly destroys what the iconoclast has spared. If we do not save them now, they are lost for ever and the future awakened India will blame us for our neglect and we shall have to take upon ourselves the full share of the blame for our failure to preserve them for posterity. If we fail, the labours of Cunningham, the first Archaeologist of India and Lord Curzon, who, by an act, laid the foundation for the preservation of our ancient monuments, would have been in vain and the hand of the clock of progress would be reversed by about a hundred years.

## JÖLAVÄLI. VËLAVÄLI AND LEÑKAVÄLI

BY

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The terms *jölaväli*, *vëlaväli* and *leñkaväli* which are occasionally met with in the inscriptions as well as literary works in Telugu and Kannada, are obscure in origin and uncertain in meaning. The first two terms occur coupled together in an inscription of 1216 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and in some of the works of the Telugu Viraśaiva divine, Pälkuriki Sōmanātha, who flourished at Warangal in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D.;<sup>2</sup> and the last is found in some inscriptions of Mysore belonging to the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of these terms is far from clear and opinion is naturally divergent as to its origin and exact significance.

The suffix *-väli* which is common to all the three terms may be first taken up for consideration. Some believe that it denotes a tract of territory, and that consequently the terms should be considered as the names of countries.<sup>4</sup> No doubt, the word *-väli*, an equivalent of *vädi* or *pädi*, means 'a country, a settlement, etc.', as, for instance, in Perumbänappädi, Gaṅgavädi, Honnavädi, Nołambavädi, Raṭṭappädi, Vallabhappädi, etc. Jölaväli and Leñkaväli on the analogy of these terms may certainly be taken to denote the country of the Cölas and the Leñkas respectively; but the inapplicability of this interpretation to Vëla-väli,—for no people of the name of Vëla is known to have existed at any time in the past—coupled with the occurrence of Jöla-väli in places where it is impossible to take it as the name of a country, bring out clearly its inadequacy to explain

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1. E. C. VIII, Sr. 125.

2. *Panđitärādhyacaritra* (Andhrapatrika edn.) Part II, p. 185; *Basavapurāṇam*. P. 195.

3. E. C. IV, Kr. 9.

4. Rice cited by Narasimhacharya: Karnātakavitarite, Vol. I, P. 31, n. 1.

K. V. Lakshmana Row: *Sivatattwasāramu* (Andhra Academy Publications, No. 13), Intro. p. 19, n.

the real significance of the terms under consideration in a satisfactory manner.

*Vāli* is, in fact, identical with the Kannada *pāli* and the Telugu *pādi* meaning ‘rule, order, law or obligation.’ The poet Ranna, for instance, speaks of warriors who having deserted their master died without fulfilling their *vāli* to him.<sup>1</sup> Bandhuvarman a poet of the early 13th century substitutes the expression *Jōlaṛṇam* for ‘*Jōlada-vāli* suggesting thereby that *-ṛṇam* and *vāli* are synonymous terms.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Nanni Chōḍadēva in his Telugu *Kumārasambhavam* refers to *jonnalu-gonna-ṛṇam* or the *ṛṇam* arising from the acceptance of *jonnalu* that is *jōla* or the Indian millet.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious, therefore, that *vāli* like its equivalent *ṛṇam* means ‘an obligation or debt’; and consequently the term *jōla-vāli*, *vēla-vāli* and *lenka-vāli* seem to denote certain kinds of ‘obligations’, the nature of which has not yet been clearly ascertained.

## I

*Jōla-vāli*:—Assuming that the interpretation of the suffix *-vāli* suggested above is correct, *jōla-vāli* or *jōlada-vāli*, as it was more commonly known, should mean the obligation of the *jōla*. The early Kannada classics throw incidentally some light on certain interesting features of *jōla-vāli*. According to the poet, Cāṭu Viṭṭhalanātha, the king is said to have admitted people, whom he took into his service, to ‘*jōla-vāli*’. In the *Dhruvacaritra* of his Kannada *Bhāgavata*, Queen Suruci on seeing her step-son Dhruva seated in the lap of her husband, Uttānapāda, is described as having exclaimed indignantly—“thou art not worthy to sit there; serve the feet of my son Uttama; he will provide thee with *jōla-vāli*.<sup>4</sup> The people who

1. *Gadāyuddha*, 5: 10.

*Jōla-vāliyam-nerapad*=āldana-kajjam-anokku sattaram.

2. *Nēmināthapurāṇam* (Madras University Kannada Series, No. 6), p. 232.

3. *Kumārasambhavam*, 11: 240.

4. *Ölagipud*=Uttamana-padavanu

Koḍuvanu *jōlavāliya* nenute bhaṅgisi  
Jaḍidu-nükidaḍ-ad-ihiķe-garvadali.

I am obliged to Mr. H. Sesha Aiyangar, Junior Lecturer in Kannada, University of Madras, for this as well as the other Kannada texts and references cited in this paper.

were thus admitted into the king's service were provided by him with the means of subsistence. Bandhuvarman refers to men-at-arms serving a lord as *jölam-gonḍavar* or 'people who accepted their salary in *jölam*'. He also describes the ideal hero as one who enters a great battle, and making use of the skill acquired in the gymnasium, fights with the enemy so as to proclaim the debt incurred by him by eating the *jölam* (of his master).<sup>1</sup> This is corroborated by the evidence of Nanni Cödä-dëva's *Kumārasambhavam* in which a soldier, who was about to join a battle, declares his intention to fight with the enemy and discharge the debt incurred by him by taking the *jonnalu* (*jöla*, *chölam*) from his master.<sup>2</sup>

The lord expected his dependants who had received *chölam* from him to fight his battles; and failure on their part to discharge their obligation was regarded as a dereliction of duty. That much is implied in Duryödhana's complaint against Drauṇi and Dröṇa in Ranna's *Gadāyuddha*.<sup>3</sup>

"Could it not have been possible for Drauṇi", cries Duryödhana, "to defeat the enemy unaided? He is an incarnation of Rudra, and has even an (additional) eye in his forehead. Placing faith in him and his father I gave them sustenance and nourished them. Have they placed the arrow on the bow-string? No, they cast away, on the contrary, their weapons. Drauṇi and Dröṇa did not even pay regard to their *jöladaväli*."<sup>3</sup>

1. *Neminäthapuräṇam*, p. 285.

Jölam-gonḍavar-ellar  
Mëlam-gomdare tegaltu . . .

*Ibid.* p. 232,

Negalvinam-uńda jölada-ṛṇam śramamam-kalayal  
-mahärāṇakk  
agiyade pokku tałt-iriva sad-bhaṭanum kali.....

2. *Kumārasambhavam*, II: 612 (Ramakrishna Kavi's edn.).  
Munum idī vairi vähinula muṭti paṭal vada vrēsi....  
.....jonnalu-gonna ḥṇambu nīgudun.

3. *Gadāyuddha*, 2: 11.

Asuhṛit-senage sälvan-ōrvane gaḍam! Rudr-āvatāram  
gaḍam  
Nosalöl-kañ-gaḍam-erñdu nacci poredam tānakke  
tamm-amm-ana

Pampa states explicitly that urged by considerations of *jōlaūa-vāli*, he engaged his master's enemies in battle and put them to flight.<sup>1</sup>

Kumāra Vyāsa believes that it is an act of merit to give one's head in exchange for *jāla-vāli* of the lord, who fostered one by offering nourishment.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence of the Kannada writers thus leaves no room for doubt as to the denotation of the term *jōla-vāli* and *jōlada-vāli*. It is clear that they are not the names of a country; but they appear to have been terms commonly in use in ancient Karnāṭa to denote an obligation, probably military in character, owed to a lord by his dependants. The lord provided his men with the means of subsistence expressed in terms of *jōlam*, the staple grain of those days, and they repaid his debt by fighting his battles.

11

The meaning of *Vēlā-vāli* is more difficult to trace.<sup>3</sup> The solution of the problem depends upon a clear understanding of the true significance of *vēla*, "the first member of the

kk-isal-ambam tiruvāyge tamd-arivarē tāv-irvarum-  
kaiduvam  
Bisatūr *JOLADA-VĀLIYAM* bagedud-illā Drauṇiyum  
Drōpanum

1. *Bhāratam*, 14: 50.  
Kavite negaltayam nirise jōladapāli nij-ādhināthan-ā-  
Havodol-arāti-nāyakara pāṭṭ-anē pāṛisi samda-pempu.
  2. *Bhāratam*,  
Salahid-oḍayane jōlavālige  
Taleya māruvad-ondu punya.
  3. The term occurs coupled with *jōla-vāli* in the Telugu  
*ditīrādhyacaritram* and *Basavapurāṇam*; and some of the  
leading Telugu scholars have commented on it. The late Mr. K. V.  
Shmana Row identifies *vēla* with *kāla* and the latter with Yama  
*vatattvasāram*, Andhra Sahitya Parishat Publications, No. 13  
(Pro. p. 18, n.). Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri takes it to mean the  
performance of prescribed rites throughout one's lifetime (*Basava-  
nām*—Andhrapatrika edn., Intro. p. 114). Dr. Ch. Narayana  
accepts Mr. Prabhakara Sastri's interpretation tentatively, but  
leaves an open mind on the matter (*Panditārādhyacaritram*  
—Andhrapatrika edn., Intro. p. 266).

term. A clue which may lead to a correct interpretation of *vēla-väli* is found in an epigraph from Nādamanchasälé in the Sagar taluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. A certain Kavädaya Bimma, one of the servants of Kumāra-Mahäräya Bälęya-Verggęde, the Mahäpradhäna of Jagadëva Pāñdyarasa of Pottipombuchcha is said to have accompanied his master during a raid into Jiduvalige-nädu and having made his *jöla-väli* and *vēla-väli* manifest in an engagement with the enemy, died on the field of battle.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that *vēla-väli*, like *jöla-väli* with which it is coupled, is also an obligation involving military service. Those who owed *vēla-väli* had to discharge their obligation by fighting their master's battles.

The nature of *vēla-väli* and the obligations arising therefrom are made clear by an examination of *Vēlaikkāran*, another Tamil term of uncertain origin, with which it seems to be etymologically connected. Judging from the scanty information furnished by the inscriptions, the *Vēlaikkāras*, like the men bound by *vēla-väli*, were men-at-arms who attached themselves to some king or chief and fought his battles. They were constituted into a number of *padais* or battalions by the Coła monarchs, whom they served with devotion.<sup>2</sup> The exact significance of the term *Vēlaikkāran* and the nature of his relationship to his master are not definitely known. Several attempts have been made to interpret the term, but no satisfactory solution has yet been found, owing to a fundamental error: the term *vēlai* of which *vēlaikkāran* is a derivative, has generally been taken to mean 'time'; and consequently the interpretations based on this assumption have turned out to be unsatisfactory.

*Vēlā*, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *vēlai* and Telugu-Kannaḍa *vēlu* is used in several senses. According to the Sanskrit lexicographer Keśava, it means among other things *vyavasthā* which denotes 'an engagement, agreement or

1. EC, VIII, Sr. 125.

Kavädaya Bimnam jolaväli välaväli mered-  
idiranta märvavalavam taṭ-iṛidu . . . suraloka-präptan-  
äda etc. (*Välä-väli* in the text is an obvious scribal error  
for *vēla-väli*).

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*, Vol. II, p. 225.

contract'.<sup>1</sup> The Kannada lexicographer Abhinava-Māngarāja also takes *vēla* and *vyavasthā* as synonymous terms;<sup>2</sup> and he is supported by the authority of the early Kannada poets who make use of it in this sense. Pampa, for instance, employs the term *vēla* in this sense of contract or agreement, while poetically describing the cause of the expansion of the heart of the lovers simultaneously with the blooming of the jasmine in the spring. 'How is it', he asks, 'that the tender hearts of the lovers expand at the thought of their beloved, when the jasmine blooms in the spring? Perhaps the tender hearts of the lovers have taken *vēla* (agreement) to the jasmine.'<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Bandhuvarman uses the word to point out the dependence of the body on life, as if on terms of a clear contract. "The duration of life", says he, 'decreases as days pass; and the body, as if it has taken *vēla*, perishes with the extinction of life.'<sup>4</sup> These instances make it quite clear that *vēla* denotes, besides its usual meaning 'time', 'an agreement, bond, or contract', as maintained by the lexicographers. This is further corroborated by the evidence of a Ceylonese inscription of the reign of Vijayabāhu I, in which an agreement entered into by the Rājaguru Mahāsthavira Vyārīṇi Mugalan with the *Vēlaikkārar* is described as a *vyavasthai*, the very term given by the lexicographers as an equivalent of *vēla*.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Nānārthārnava saṅkṣēpa*, T. S. S. Edn., p. 153.

Vēlākūlē samudrasya tad-ambu vikṛtāv-api  
Taraṅgē vatsarē kālē vyavasthāyām-api striyām.

2. *Nighaṇṭu Nānārthavarga*, 24.

Kāśadōl vyavasthayōl vēle yaṁd-enikkum, etc.

3. *Adipurāṇam*, 1 : 110.

..... Malligegal vasantadō!  
Birid-ođe nallaram nenedu nallara mell-erdagaļ ni-  
rantaram  
Birivud-ad-ento ? malligege nallara mell-erde vēla-  
gomḍadō.

4. *Jivasambodhanam*, Part I, (Brahmasuraya edn. Mysore 1917), verse 30, p. 9.

Divasada kumde kumdisugum-āyuvan-āyuge vēla-  
gomḍad-em  
Bavol-aligum śarīram.

5. EI, XVIII, p. 337.

Engaļ anvayam-ulladañaiyum-eññāŋrum-idukku

The meaning of *vēlai* having been thus finally settled, its two derivatives *vēlaikkāraṇ* and *vēla-väli* may now be taken up for consideration. The former denotes a person who has entered into a covenant with another binding himself to do certain acts; and the latter signifies the obligations arising from that covenant. This is clearly brought out by two Kannada inscriptions of the Cālukyan age. In one of them dated 1060 A.D., it is stated that a certain Tuluva Caṇḍiga took a *vēla* with his finger as pledge and cut off the finger so pledged.<sup>1</sup> The other record dated A.D. 1185 describes the self-immolation of a servant on the death of his mistress in pursuance of *vēla-väli*; Bōka, a servant of Laccaladēvī, the senior queen of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sāvidēvarasa gave a ‘*bāsa*’ (pledge) that he would die with the queen. On the death of the queen, Bōka fulfilled his pledge, and departed to the world of the dead. To describe the pride and greatness of Bōka: when his master called him saying, ‘you are a brave man who with resolution offered to take off your head, Bōka gave his head in pursuance of his *vēla-väli* exciting the admiration of all.<sup>2</sup> The nature of this covenant and the obligations pertaining thereto are not, however, clearly known. The inscriptions refer, no doubt, to the vow taken by the *vēlaikkārār* to fight for their overlord, safeguard his interests even at the risk of their lives, and perish with him in the event of his death; but they throw little or no light on their status and the character of the service which they had to render in addition to their military duties.

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vēṇḍuvanāv-ellāñ-chevvōm-āgavum paṇṇina inda  
vyavasthai chandr-ādityavarai niṛpad-āga-kkaiy-viṇāv-  
erri-chchembilum kallilum veṭṭuvittu-kkuḍuttōm.

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 152.

Tuluva caṇḍigam....berelge vēleyēn endu  
nuḍidu Śrī-Ballavarasar Satyāśrayar tēvanu  
Banavāseyā köṭeya Pannircāsaradal pasāya  
dēva vrittiyumari dayageydu kotta beratam kaḍiye....

2. *Ibid.* Sk. 249. Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvararam Sōvi-Dēvarasana viśāla-vakṣasthala-nivāsiniyar-appa Śrīmat-piriy-arasi Laccala-Dēviyarū svarggastheyar āgal ā-dēviyar-ōḍa śāven endu mun-nuḍida bhāṣeya-neṇapi satta vara-lōkan appa Bōkana vinkada bīrad-unnatiy-agra-bhāvav-entene. Ka|| calade tale-gūraṇāḍuva| Kaliyam ninendu kayad-odeyam....b-in tappa Alaghu-parākram Bōkam| tale-gottam vēle vālig-urvare pogalal.

Some of the foreign travellers who visited India during the middle ages describe the manner in which people were admitted to the order of the *vēlaikkārar*.

"When they mount on the throne" says Abu Zaid, "some kings of India cause rice to be cooked which is then presented to them on the leaves of the banana. The king musters (on the occasion) three or four hundred friends (who attach themselves to him) by deliberate design, freely, without any one being forced to it. After eating of the rice himself, the king gives of it to his friends, and each one of them, in his turn, goes near (him), takes a little of the rice and eats of it. When the king dies or is killed, all those who have eaten of the rice (with him in this sort of religious communion which binds them intimately), should burn themselves voluntarily on a pyre to the last man, on the very day when the king ceases to live. The king dead, his friends should disappear without delay. This obligation is so imperative that there should remain nothing of these friends, neither body nor trace of themselves."<sup>1</sup>

The *Book of Marvels of India* gives some more interesting details about the initiation of the *vēlaikkārar* and the functions they had to perform in discharge of their duties:

"He (the king) makes them eat rice with him, and gives them betel from his own hand. Each hacks off his little finger, and sets it before the king. And from that moment on, they follow him about, wherever he goes, eat what he eats and drink what he drinks. They superintend his food, and overlook everything which has to do with him. No concubine is brought to his bed, whether it be girl or boy, but they, first of all, examine them thoroughly; no carpet is spread for his feet, till they have inspected it. The king is served with no drink nor dish but they insist it should be, first of all, tasted by whoever brings it. And thus they do, in every instance, where the king might be exposed to some danger. If he dies they commit suicide; if he burns, they cast themselves into flames; if he falls ill, they mishandle themselves in order to share his sufferings. When a battle is fought, in the attack, they cluster round him and never leave his side. Only men of distinguished family

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 128.

who are themselves comely and valiant and of good understanding are admitted among *balāudjers* (*vēlaikkārar*).<sup>1</sup>

The *Vēlaikkārar* occasionally slew themselves to show their affection to their master. Ibn Batuta records an incident of this kind which happened at Mul-Jawa while he was on a visit to the court of the king.<sup>2</sup> They were also accustomed to sacrifice their lives to enable their masters to recover their health in case of sickness.<sup>3</sup> The *Vēlaikkārar* held high posts under the government, and exercised considerable power in the kingdom. They were not, however, free men, but slaves, attached to the family of the lord for generations.<sup>4</sup>

The institution of the *vēlaikkārar* was widespread and popular. It was not peculiar to kings and nobles; nor was it exclusively secular in character. Communities as well as religious foundations entertained *vēlaikkārar* in their service to safeguard their interests and protect their property.<sup>5</sup> The duties which they had to discharge were onerous, involving frequently the risk of loss of life. They had to defend the village against raids, and establish the right to property of their masters secular as well as spiritual, by forfeiting their lives.

The conception of duty which bound the *vēlaikkārar* to their lord exercised profound influence over the doctrines of the nascent Vira-Saiva creed which rose to great prominence

1. *Ibid.*, p. 129 n. The vestiges of this institution are not yet extinct. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* or 'the children of the palace' who are attached to the Zamindari families of the Telugu country are the modern representatives of the *vēlaikkārar*. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* are more intimately connected with the private life of the Zamindars than their other servants. They live in the palace, attend to the personal needs of the Zamindar, eat the food partaken by him, dress themselves in his cast-off clothes, and perform several other services which recall to mind the duties of the *vēlaikkārar*. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* differ from the *vēlaikkārar* in that they do not kill themselves on the death of their master; but that is due to the changed conditions of life under which they live at the present day.

2. Broadway Travellers: *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 278.

3. MER. 1913, Part ii, Para. 22, p. 97.

4. Broadway Travellers: *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 278.

5. ARE 368 of 1914, 188 of 1925.

during the age of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The originators of this creed pressed into service political and social ideas and ideals current at the time in shaping their doctrines. Śiva, the supreme god, was made to stand in the same relation to the *bhaktas* or the faithful, as the lord was to his *vēlaikkārar*; the *dikṣā* or the initiation into the mysteries of the faith was substituted for the *vēlaikkārar's* vow to be faithful to the lord in life as well as in death; the cooked rice which the *vēlaikkārar* partook with their lord was transformed into the *nairmālya* (food offered to the deity); and the *bhaktas* were strictly enjoined to eat it without wasting even a particle. The *bhaktas* thus initiated into the faith were invested with the emblem of the *iṅga*, called *prāṇa-linga*, perhaps in imitation of the practice in pursuance of which the *vēlaikkārar* were branded with some mark or symbol of their master.<sup>1</sup> The *linga* was to be looked

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1. This is clearly indicated by the term *tiruccūla-vēlaikkārar* or the *vēlaikkārar* bearing the mark of the *trisūla* mentioned in an epigraph at Punjai dated in the 14th year of the reign of Rājādhīrāja II (188 of 1925). The *Vēlaikkārar* who were attached, in this instance, to the local temple of Śiva were branded with the mark of the *trisūla*, a weapon peculiar to the god to show that they were the servants of the deity. Another instance which is closely parallel to this is the practice of branding *devadāsis* at the time of their dedication to the service of temples. Āccapidāraṇ Gaṇapati Nambi alias Alakiya Pāṇḍya-Pallavarāyan, a captain in one of the regiments of Kulottunga's army 'presented some women of his family as dēvarādiyar for service in the temple of Tiruvallam-Udaiyar, after branding them, with Śūla (trident) mark' (230 of 1921). The practice of branding the followers of Viṣṇu with the *Saṅkha* and *Cakra*, the characteristic symbols of the God, may also be remembered in this connection. It appears to have been customary to change these marks with the change of masters. 'The dēvarādiyar belonging to the temple at Tirukālatti had been forced into the royal household'. This was brought to the notice of the emperor Kulottunga I. It was noticed that the mark of the Śūla was erased, and the royal lāñchana was impressed in its place. The emperor enquired into the matter and commanded that the dēvarādiyar in question should be branded again with the mark of the Śūla and restored to the temple. (MER. 1922, Part ii, Para. 19. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar for having drawn my attention to these records.) The practice is based on the principle that what belongs to an individual should

upon not as a mere symbol but as the deity himself. The *bhakta* should lose it on no account. If by chance he happened to lose it, he should not survive its loss, but cut his throat and die in the same manner as the *vëlaikkärrar* on the death of their lord.<sup>1</sup> The *bhakta*, like the *vëlaikkäran*, should incessantly strive to promote the interests of his lord; he should put to death without hesitation people who disparage Śiva, destroy the opposing creeds and establish the true faith even at the point of the sword.

The *tiruccüla-vëlaikkärrar* of Puñjai in the Tanjore District, for instance, had to cast themselves into the fire and perish in the flames in order to establish the right of the local Śiva temple to the ownership of certain *dëvadäna* lands which were in the enjoyment of some unscrupulous men.<sup>2</sup> The ten *Virabhadras* whom the Rājaguru Viśeṣvara-Śiva appointed to protect the *dëvaläna* villages, Mandaram and Velaṅgapūdi which the Kākatiya sovereigns Gaṇapati and Rudrāmbā had granted to him as an *agrahāra*, and which he, in turn, had assigned to a *maṭha* and *saträlaya* founded by him, were expected to protect the village by *bijacchēda*, *śiracchēda* and *kuksicchēda*.<sup>3</sup> As the *vëlaikkärrar* of this class were very seldom called upon to take up arms in defence of their trust they soon lost their military character and became guardians of the interests of the community or religious institution, as the case might be. Whether the *vëlaikkärrar* were soldiers fighting for their lords, or were mere protectors of the rights and privileges of private bodies, they had one thing in common. They devoted themselves exclusively to the service

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bear his mark to proclaim his ownership. The *vëlaikkärrar*, the *dëvadäsi*s and the *bhakta*s forfeited their freedom by the terms of their agreement to serve the lord or god and became his slaves, his property. It is only reasonable that they should bear the emblem of their master.

1. Prāṇa-linga-vratē luptē prāyaścittam na vidyatē|  
Prāṇa-lingātparam tasmāt sāvadhānēna dhārayet||  
Prāṇa-lingē ca vicchinnē lingē prāṇān parityajet|  
Prati-diksām prāpya tiṣṭhēd-rauravam narakam vrajet.||
- Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* (cited by V. Prabhakara Sastri in his Introduction to the *Basavapurāṇam*, p. 79).

2. No. 188 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection,  
3, JAHS, IV, p. 160.

of their masters, and considered no sacrifice too great in promoting the interests of those to whom they had dedicated their lives.

The employment of *vēlaikkārar* in the temple seems to have brought in its train a modification of the meaning of the term *vēlai*. It was due to the difference in the character of the lord, *viz.*, the presiding deity of the temple. He was divine, and his interests were bound up more with spiritual than with the worldly affairs. The duties which the *vēlaikkārar* were called upon to discharge in the service of their divine master differed in character; and consequently the scope of the *vēlai* (pledge) which they had to give to their lord was widened, so as to include spiritual duties. Therefore, *vēla-vāli* which originally denoted an obligation arising from a pledge to render personal service to a human lord, appears to have developed a new significance in this manner and become synonymous with *samaya-dharma* or religious obligation.

The Tamil inscriptions of the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries copied from the South Arcot District refer to a class of female servants called *vēlaikkāris*, who bound themselves, like *vēlaikkārar*, by most solemn oaths to die with their masters.<sup>1</sup> It is not known whether they had any connection with the *vēlaikkārar*. They were perhaps personal attendants doing menial service to their lords like *anugu-Naṅgāṇḍi* who used to massage the feet of Kulōttungadēva.<sup>2</sup> They were perhaps unmarried, and were prevented from entering into marital relations by the conditions of service. The *vēlaikkāris* immolated themselves, as shown by their recorded vows, on the death of their master.

### III

*Lenka-vāli*: The *vēlaikkārars* figure mainly in the inscriptions of the Cōla and the Tonḍai-maṇḍalam. However, the order to which they belonged was not unknown outside these countries. They were called *Tennavan Āpottudavīgal* in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, and *lenkas* in Telingāna and Karṇāṭa. Very little is known about the character and, functions of the former though like the *vēlaikkārar*, they seem to have killed themselves

1. ARE 136 to 149 of 1934-1935.

2. SII, iv, No. 1253.

by casting themselves on the pyre of their dead master.<sup>1</sup> About the latter, however, a good deal of information is available. The word *lenka* which is frequently met with in the Telugu and Kannada inscriptions and in literary works is of unknown origin. Very probably it is connected with the Marathi word *lēnk* meaning 'a son or daughter'. Perhaps like *mulgā* with which it is said to correspond, it also denotes 'a male child of a female slave of the state'<sup>2</sup>; for the *lenkas* styled themselves as *kumāras* or sons of their masters and were brought up probably like Lakṣma-Daṇḍādhiśa of the Hoysala records in the royal palace itself.<sup>3</sup> Like *vēlaikkārar*, they were slaves who entered into a covenant with their lord to devote themselves exclusively to his service. They took an oath (*bhāṣe*, *bāse*) to look upon their lord as 'their *guru* and deity' in this world as in the next<sup>4</sup>; and pay no regard either for their property or lives in furthering his interests; stand by him in the hour of danger; fight his battles and kill themselves in the event of his death. The ideal of conduct which the *lenkas* were expected to follow was, indeed, lofty. The chief characteristics of a *lenka* are thus described in an inscription dated 1045 A.D.: "Truth should be his utterance, praise (of his master) his work, charity his recreation, succour of the distressed seeking his protection his merit, and unflinching attitude in a great battle his prime concern,—these are the characteristics of the *lenkas* eulogised (loudly) like the proclamation of a kettle-drum by the learned on the surface of the earth."<sup>5</sup> The obligations and duties which the *lenkas* had to discharge were known as *lenka-vāli*<sup>6</sup>; and they were granted estates out of the proceeds of which they had to maintain themselves. The *lenkas* appear to have been known as *anugus* or *anugas*, that is companions who followed their master; for the villages, allotted for their maintenance, are described *anugu-jīvita* or the territory assigned to the *anugus* for their subsistence.<sup>7</sup> It is evident that the *lenkas* and *anugus* were identical.

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 196-7.
2. Molesworth: Dictionary Marathi-English, pp. 660, 722.
3. E. C. v, Bl. 112.
4. E. C. v, Bl. 112.
5. SII, ix, i, No. 101 (ARE 443 of 1914).
6. E. C. iv, Kr. 9.
7. SII. IX, i, Nos. 101; 104.

The *anugus* seem to have resided, like the *lenkas*, in the royal palace; and the hall where they dwelt or assembled together was known as the *anugu-mogasāla* or the hall of the *anugus*.<sup>1</sup> The *lenkas* were always in attendance on their lord, ushered people into his presence, looked after his needs, helped him in the management of the palace and the administration of his estates, accompanied him to the hunt, sported in his company in the pleasure gardens, and fought his battles risking their lives. Though the *lenkas* were a heterogeneous community drawn from several classes of people, they attained high positions in the state, according to their ability and skill.<sup>2</sup> They became ministers and commanders of powerful armies. They could marry and beget children; acquire property, and dispose of it with the consent of the lord. The *lenka* together with his *lenkiti* and his men and maid servants should perish with the lord. Lakṣma-Daṇḍādhīśa, the general of Hoysala king Ballāla II, together with his wife Suggile and a band of thousand *lenkas*, killed himself in fulfilment of the vow he had taken to remain faithful to his sovereign.<sup>3</sup> Another *lenka*, Śivaneya-Nāyaka also with five other *lenkas* fulfilled his engagement with the same monarch.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Lakkheya-Nāyaka with his wife and three *lenkis* perished with Narasimha I; Kanneya-Nāyaka, his three wives, ten *lenkitis* and twenty four *lenkas* embraced Garuḍa and died with Sōmēśvara;<sup>5</sup> and Singeya-Nāyaka, his three wives, ten *lenkitis*, and twenty *lenkas* immolated themselves on the death of Narasimha III, and fulfilled their engagement.<sup>6</sup> Such instances can be multiplied, but these are sufficient to show the fidelity until death of these *lenkas* and *lenkitis* to their masters. It is not known whether the *lenkitis* were merely the wives of the *lenkas* or were, like the *vēlaikkāris* of the Tamil inscriptions, maid-servants in the service of the lord, bound to him by the same kind of oath like the *lenkas* themselves. The breach of the oath of *lenka-vāli* was fraught with serious consequences. *Lenkas* who deserted their master,

1. *Andhra-Mahābhāratam*, Udyogaparvan, 3: 17. *Hari-vāṁśamu*, 3: 17.

2. *Bharati*, Vol. XV, Part ii, pp. 139 ff.

3. E.C. v, Bl. 112.

4. *Ibid.* iv, Kr. 9.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.* Kr. 10.

contrary to the pledge of their order or attempted to seek service, after the master's death, under others, were sternly dealt with. Lakṣma-Danḍādhiśa is said to have justified his claim to the title, 'the chastiser of the *leñkas* who break their plighted word to their master in the stress of war'.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the descendants of Gaṇḍa-Nārāyaṇa-Śetti, one of the *leñkanāyakas* dependent on the Hoysala family, claim to have been the chastisers of the *leñkas* who break their plighted word, chastisers of the *leñkas* who run away at the sound of the drum, and the chastisers of the *leñkas* who set store by (their own) property or life.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is, however, known about the manner in which punishment was meted out to the defaulting *leñkas*. They were probably put to death.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the three terms *jölavāli*, *vēlavāli* and *leñkavāli* refer to some political and military obligations which certain classes of people had to discharge in the service of their lord. *Jölavāli* denotes an obligation which a subject owed to his master for maintaining him by providing him with food and nourishment. The other two relate to the duties respectively of the *vēlaikkārar* and the *leñkas*, two classes of slaves who were in the service of the ancient Hindu kings of Deccan and South India.

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1. E. C. v, Bl. 112. Bhāṣege-tappuvamkada negalteya  
leñkara gamdan embudam| Bisaram āgad uddharipudētođa!  
uddharipam.

2. E. C. iv, Kr. 9. Bāṣage tappuva leñkara gamđarum  
gōsañe vodaguva leñkara gamđaram dhanamana prāṇangalolu  
seragu vārva leñkara gamđarum.

## TAMIL SYNTAX.

(A PAPER PRESENTED AT THE TENTH ALL-INDIA  
ORIENTAL CONFERENCE)

BY

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“Syntax” is interpreted in different ways. The root-meaning of the word is “arranging together”.<sup>1</sup> There are several scholars who divide syntax into separate departments, *viz.*, order, concerned, government and cross-reference. Among such scholars is that famous American philologist, Dr. Bloomfield<sup>2</sup>. Mr. Nesfield, on the contrary, has devoted his entire attention in his English Grammar to the Order of Words in a sentence.<sup>3</sup> He has, besides, remarked that divisions into concord and government are not useful in modern English, because it has lost several of its inflexions. Therefore, it behoves us to be guarded in our use of the expression “syntax” in relation to any language. Prof. A. H. Sayce, for instance, said<sup>4</sup> “Where there is elaborate formal grammar there may not be a rich syntax”. In a similar manner Prof. Earle also said “Syntax varies inversely in richness or poverty as accidence is poor or rich.” Considered in this way, Tamil should not be expected to have a rich syntax, for there is elaborate formal grammar in it. It is believed that in Sanskrit there is no rich syntax because of this reason<sup>5</sup>. But writers such as the Rev. Mr. Rhenius, the Rev. Mr. Pope and the Rev. Mr. Beschi have given elaborate syntaxes in their Tamil grammars. How then are we to reconcile the practice as we find in these grammarians with the theory formulated by Sayce and Earle? There are two ways of reconciling these. They are either by means of saying that just

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1. W. W. SKEAT: An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.

2. Language, p. 191.

3. Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis, Bk. IV, p. 150.

4. The Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 428.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

as Greek in spite of its possession of elaborate formal grammar is still rich in syntax, Tamil despite its grammar has an elaborate syntax, or by means of saying that what is meant by syntax, according to Sayce and Earle, is order alone of words.

Tamil is not rich in syntax in the sense in which Sayce would say English is; that is to say, in the matter of the order of words in a sentence there are not many sanctions and taboos in Tamil. For instance, it is the order of words in English and Chinese that decides the meaning of words, as in “Rāma killed Rāvaṇa”. Here if the order is changed so as to read “Rāvaṇa killed Rāma” the contrary assertion is the result. In Tamil, a change in the order as “Rāmañ Rāvaṇaṇaik-konrān, Rāvaṇaṇai Rāmañ konrān, Konrān Rāmañ Rāvaṇaṇai, Konrān Rāvaṇaṇai Rāmañ” would not interfere with the meaning except in regard to emphasis. These Tamil sentences seem to emerge from the same process as the Latin “*Pater amat filium*”, “*Filiū pater amat*” and “*amat pater filium*”, all meaning “The father loves the son”. This process is unlike what we find in the Chinese<sup>1</sup> where “*ngo ta ni*” means “I beat thee” and “*ni ta ngo*” means “You beat me”. Hence we might say that if syntax means “Order” alone, Tamil is not rich in it. But if syntax means, as is taken by Leonard Bloomfield, concord, government and cross-reference, Tamil has it.

Now let us see whether we have all these sub-divisions of syntax in Tamil. Tolkāppiyar in his rules in “Kīlavi ākkam” has given certain injunctions regarding the order of words. In one rule (No. 38) he has said that demonstrative pronouns should not precede “iyarpeyar” or real names to which they refer. In another rule (No. 41) he has said that surnames should precede real names (*e.g.* Muṇivan̄ Akattiyāñ). As some other instances of requirements of order we might mention the following:—

1. The adjective should precede the word it qualifies.  
(*e.g.* nalla kaṇi=good fruit).
2. The adverb should precede the verb it modifies.  
(*e.g.* naṇrāy uṇṭāñ=ate well).
3. The verbal participle should precede the finite verb.  
(*e.g.* vantu pōnāñ=Having come, he went.)

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1. Dr. T. G. TUCKER: Introduction to the Natural History of Language, p. 121.

The normal order of words in a Tamil sentence is supposed to be subject-object-verb. This is different from the English order which is subject-verb-object.<sup>1</sup> It is English, Scandinavian and Romanic that do not place the verb in the final position. On the contrary, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Dravidian put the verb at the last part of the sentence. It would appear that if a deaf-mute is trained to communicate his ideas, he puts the verb always at the end. This method therefore seems to be very natural.<sup>2</sup>

As regards concord, the verb in Tamil must agree with the subject or the nominative in the matter of gender, number and person (*E.g.* avan̄ pōkirān̄; aval̄ pōkirāl̄; avar̄ pōkirār̄). Instances of concord in English are "he goes" and "they go". Instances of Sanskrit concord are "Sah apatāt" (=he fell) and "tē apatan̄" (=they fell).

There are very sure instances of government in Tamil. The second and first personal pronouns govern a plural verb of the first person (*e.g.* nānum nīyum pōvōm=You and I will go.) The second and third personal pronouns govern a plural verb of the second (*e.g.* nīyum avan̄um pōnir̄=He and you went). The first, second and third personal pronouns take a plural-ending of the first (*e.g.* nānum nīyum avan̄um pōnōm=He, you and I went). Two or more nominatives singular of the rational class govern an epicene plural (*e.g.* Kapilañum Parañum vantār̄).

As regards case and its government, we have definite information supplied in Tamil Grammars. The first and eighth cases govern a verb. (*e.g.* avan̄ vantān̄=He came; makalē vā=come, O! daughter). The second and third cases in a similar manner govern a verb (*e.g.* avanai alāittān̄=he called him; kaiyāl elutinān̄=wrote with the hand). The fourth and sixth cases generally take a noun (*e.g.* nōyku maruntu=medicine for the disease; eñatu kai=my hand). But the dative case can govern a verb too (*e.g.* avanukkuk kojuttān̄=He gave him). In the fifth case the ablative of direction takes a noun (*e.g.* Chidambarattin̄ kilakku Annāmālainagar=Annamalainagar lies east of Chidambaram). The ablative of motion, however,

1. Language, its nature, etc., p. 345 (1934 edn.)

2. Cf. A. H. SAYCE: The Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 436.

as in “*Ūriṇ nīṅkināṇ*” (=left the city)’ takes a verb. The seventh case can govern either a verb or a noun (*e.g.* malaiyin-kaṇ aruvi=a fountain on the mountain; Nilamicai vālvār (= those living on the earth).

There is no cross-reference in Tamil. “*Puella cantat*” in Latin literally means “the girl—she sings”. In English this would be “the girl sings”. The expression “cantat” can mean either “she sings” or “he sings” or “it sings”. That it is “she” and not “it” or “he” is brought out by the cross-reference in “*puella*”.<sup>1</sup> There is no need in Tamil for such cross-reference.

But the order and concord, we have seen before, do not appear to be absolutely essential in Tamil. English, which has no case-endings except probably the suffix of the genitive, has an order that cannot be dispensed with. But Tamil which is rich in cases can dispense with its order, if it has any, without doing violence to the meaning. We shall now see that in the following instances there is no order insisted upon in Tamil. We can indifferently say either “mūvar makaṇir” or “makaṇir mūvar”, but the order of the corresponding expression in English is strict: “three women” and not “women three”. English writers, being accustomed to a strict order in their language, imagine there is such an order in the languages they look at. That must be the reason why certain things, which do not constitute order, have been mentioned by the Rev. A. H. Arden,<sup>2</sup> and the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius<sup>3</sup> under the head of Order in Tamil. For instance, the comparative is said to precede that which is compared and “*ivaninum avan nallavaṇ*” (=he is better than this man) is cited.<sup>4</sup> This order is only imaginary, for we could equally say “*avan ivaninum nallavaṇ*”. Thus that which is compared can also go before the comparative. It is again said that the similitude precedes that which is similar. The instance “*Sūryanaip pōlap pirakāśikkirāṇ*” (=He shines as the sun) is given. But without doing any harm to the meaning, we can inverse the order and say “*avan sūryanaip pōlap pirakāśikkirāṇ*”. These things then show that the position of words in a sentence does not matter very much in Tamil and there is no “order” properly so-called.

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1. *Vide* BLOOMFIELD: Language (1935), p. 193.
  2. A Progressive Grammar, p. 87, *et seq.*
  3. A Grammar of the Tamil Lauguage, p. 212.
  4. ARDEN, p. 87.

As regards concord, we find that it exists in Tamil only so far as the verb is in agreement with the nominative in point of number and person. Other concords known to certain other languages are not found in Tamil. For instance, in Sanskrit “*kuśalah* Ramaḥ” would mean “happy Rama”; “*kuśalinī Sītā*” would mean ‘happy Sītā’. Here the adjective is in concord with the noun. Both these phrases, when rendered into Tamil, will have the same form of the adjective: *makilcciyāṇa*. In a similar manner “*kalter wein*”, “*kalte milch*” and “*kaltes wasser*” would in German mean respectively cold wine, cold milk and cold water. Here there is concord of the adjective with the noun. Even so in Sanskrit there is a regular concord of the adjective with the noun, through every case. The following paradigm will make the point clear:—

	Adjective (Masculine Singular)	Noun
Nominative.	<i>pāpah</i>	<i>kāmah</i>
Accusative.	<i>pāpam</i>	<i>kāmam</i>
Instrumental.	<i>pāpena</i>	<i>kāmena</i>
Dative.	<i>pāpāya</i>	<i>kāmāya</i>
Ablative.	<i>pāpāt</i>	<i>kāmāt</i>
Genitive.	<i>pāpasya</i>	<i>kāmasya</i>
Locative.	<i>pāpe</i>	<i>kāme</i>
Vocative.	<i>pāpa</i>	<i>kāma</i>

But there is no such concord in Tamil.

There is another kind of concord which we find in English (*e.g.* This man and these men). There is no such concord in Tamil. We say “*inta maṇitai*, *inta maṇitar*”. Furthermore, there is concord in English between the relative pronoun and that which it governs (*e.g.* that which cried, and he who spoke). But in the corresponding expressions in Tamil, *aluta kuḷavi* and *pēsiya maṇitai*, the terminations of the relative participle are the same.

Considered in this manner, government alone seems to be the most important division of syntax found in Tamil. Though order and concord are attributed to it, they are of course very rare. That kind of agreement, known as cross-reference, has no part to play in Tamil.

॥ नमो मात्रे ॥

## ॥ भवभूतिः करुणरसश्च ॥

वा. ह. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री

समस्तमेव जगत् साक्षात्परम्परया वा रसाङ्गतामुपयातोति नेदमास्थंयं साध्यसरणौ । यतस्तत्रभवान् आचार्यानन्दवर्धनः ‘वस्तु च सर्वमेव जगद्रत्मवश्यं कस्यचित् रसस्याङ्गत्वं प्रतिपद्यते विभावात्मने’ति सिद्धप्रायमनुवदति । स्थितेऽस्मिन् समये, समेभ्यः पदार्थेभ्यः कविनटादिव्यापारागोचरेभ्यो रसोत्पत्त्यापत्तेः परिजिह्वार्षिवस्ते आलंकारिकसमयाचार्याः काव्यादितात्पर्यमेव तत्र नियामकमुशन्ति । कवयो हि कमपि रसमितिवृत्तोचितमैदभ्यर्थेण विशदयन्ति स्वेषु काव्येषु । तेषु कविग्रेष्ठो भवभूतिः करुणं रसं विशदयितुं किमपि कौशलं कक्षीकरोतीति सहृदयसम्भवा प्रशस्तिराचकास्ति । यामनुब्रह्मन्ती ‘भवभूतेस्सम्बन्धाद्वारतभूरेव भारती भाति । एतत्कृतकारुण्ये किमन्यथा रोदिति प्रावा ॥’ इत्यनन्तपण्डितस्य सूक्तिरपि प्रावर्तत । शृङ्गारादीनां यथपि रसानां भग्नावरणचिद्रूपत्वेन, अनुभोक्तृभिः विगलितनिखिलवेद्यान्तरत्वाद्यात्मना अनुभूयमानल्वेन च नास्त्येव परस्परं भेद इति, नायं कविः समुक्तुष्यते कव्यन्तरेभ्यः करुणवर्णनेन । अथापि वाच्यवर्त्मसमास्थितस्य रसशब्दस्यापि स्थायीभाव एवाभिधेय इति प्रामाणिकव्यवस्थितेः, करुणस्थायीभावस्य अन्येनां च तत्कारणानामालम्बनादीनामुपवर्णने प्रकृष्ट्यत एवायं परेभ्य इति प्रसिद्धेरुदयः ॥

अपि च कवयोऽपि कालिदासाद्याः शृङ्गारादीनुपनिबन्धन्ति । अयं च करुणम् । तत्समाने रसप्रतिपादने कुतोऽयमन्येभ्यो विशिष्यत इति विमृश्यमाने करुणे रसो रसान्तरेभ्यः परमुक्तुष्यते । तत्प्रतिपादने चास्य इतेरेषां रसवर्णनधोरणीतः कापि विलक्षणा दृदयालुभिरादृता सरणिः वशंगता विलसतीत्यपि भावमुख्येक्षामहे पूर्वोक्तायाः प्रशस्तेर्मूलकारणतया । तदयमवार्थः यथा प्रसिध्येत् तथा क्रमशः प्रतरिष्यामः ॥

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१९३६ वत्सरे संस्कृतसेवासमित्या भवभूतिमहोत्सवे प्रथमपारितोषिकेण सम्मानितोऽयं उम्मर्मः ।

सन्ति दर्शनानि रसविभागे विभिन्नानि । यथा शृङ्गार एक एव रसः । अपरे च तद्विर्ता इति शृङ्गारतिलके । अत्र युक्तिमध्यायुंजते । रसो हि रस्यमानताप्राणः नैव माधुर्यमतिवर्तेत् । अतो ह्यानन्दयत्यखिलान् । तस्मात् शृङ्गार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः । नान्यः । अन्येषु हि नैवं माधुर्यं प्रह्लादनं वा विभाव्यते प्रतिपत्तुभिः । तत्र शृङ्गारविवर्ततां व्यावर्त्य प्रह्लादयितुं प्रगल्मेतैःपि रस इति । अपरत्र, शान्तः समेषां रसानामधिष्ठानात्मा । स च विवर्तते विविधरसात्मना निमित्तमेदात् । ‘स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पत्ते रसः । पुनर्निमित्तापाये तु शान्त एव प्रलीयते ॥’ इति भरतोदीरितं प्रमाणयतां मतमालोक्यते । इतरत्र च शान्तस्य अखिलानुभवागोचरतामनभिनेयतां स्थायभाववत्तां चोत्प्रेक्ष्य तदभावः प्रकल्पितः । अन्यत्र धर्मदत्तप्रन्ये चमत्कार-सारन्वं सर्वेषां रसानामनुभवतोऽनुविन्द्य सर्वत्राद्बृत एव रस इति राज्ञानितम् । तदुक्तिरूप्यत्र, ‘रसे सारश्वमत्कारः सर्वत्रैवानुभूयते । तच्चमत्कारसारत्वे सर्वत्राप्य-द्बृतो रसः ॥ तस्माद्द्बृतमेवाह कृती नारायणो रसम्’ इति दृश्यते । प्रकृतस्तु कवयिता स्वीये रामोत्तरचरिते व्यापारेण व्यञ्जनामिधेन एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तमेदात् नानात्मा विवर्तत इति करुणस्यैवेतरेभ्य औत्कृष्णं सिद्धान्त-यति । न केवलमौकृष्टयम्, यावत्स्येव रसत्वम्, इतेराणां तदनन्यत्वं च प्रतिपादयति ।

एषु च प्रभेदेषु विनान्तिमं सर्वेऽपि प्रभेदाः परश्चातहेतुभिः पर्यवस्था-पिता एव तत्त्वमत्प्रवर्तकैः । अन्तिमस्त्वेको रसः करुण इत्यादिपक्षः न केनापैदम्पर्येण यत्ततः साधितोऽथापि न कदापि प्रतिक्षेप्यपदवीमुपारोद्घर्महृति । यद्वेदाध्ययनमित्यादिना शास्त्रशाणनिकषणतीक्ष्णतमधिषणत्वेन निर्धारितस्य शब्दब्रह्मविदः कवेरस्य भावः प्राकृतस्येव जनस्य प्रत्याह्यानपारुद्ध्यं कथमिवा-वहेत् । नैतादशो युक्तिमनुभवं वा अनास्थाय प्रमत्तप्रलापायितं किमध्यमि-दध्यात् । अतोऽस्माभिरस्य पक्षस्य चिन्तनीयास्संवादाः ॥

अत्रेमं वादं भवभूतीयमेके नानुमन्यन्ते । यतः स कविवेधा उत्तर-रामचरिते तृतीयेऽङ्के प्रस्तुतं वृत्तमनुकीर्तयति तमसामुखेन । न रसं सिद्धान्त-यति । यतः तस्मिन् अङ्के संभोगशृङ्गारस्य काचित्कतया खद्योतविलसित-निभतया च क्षणिकता, करुणस्य च स्थिरता अनुस्यूततया अविच्छिन्नतया च स्पष्टमालोक्यते इति । अथापि उत्तरे रामचरिते शृङ्गार एक एव रसः सर्वाङ्गव्यापीति समर्थयतां शास्त्रावलम्बिनामयं वाद इति विस्तरतः परस्तात्सदौ-

चित्यं परिशीलयिष्यामः । पूर्वतनसु पक्षस्तत्र करुणं रसं प्रबन्धव्यापिनं प्रधानं मन्वानानां सम्भत इति बहुवादिसम्भतः । तद्वयमपीदानीं बहुसम्भतिं प्रमाणयन्तः करुणवादमेव कक्षीकुर्मः ॥

किञ्च पद्यस्यास्य अर्थपर्यालोचने यथा अप्रकृतस्य अर्थस्य पुरतः स्फूर्तिः न तथा प्रकृतस्येति पद्यार्थपरीक्षकाणां हृदयमेव प्रमाणम् । परिणतप्रज्ञः स्वायत्तशब्दप्रपञ्चः कविः प्रकृतमर्थं तात्पर्येण प्रिगादयन् कथमिवाप्रकृतमर्थं पुरस्फूर्तिकमादध्यात् ? प्रतिपिपादयिषिं च पृष्ठतः । अपि च काव्यकर्ता परित्यज्येदृशं पन्थानं, कथं वा स्वराद्धान्तं प्रकटयेत् ? प्रस्तुतार्थप्रकटनद्वारा आत्मनस्तात्पर्यविष्करणं हि कविसमयसंगतम् । तदनुरोधेनाविर्विहिते कवेस्तात्पर्ये सर्वत्रैव यदि पूर्वोक्ता प्रकृतमात्रपक्षपातिनी दृक्परिगृह्येत हन्त तपस्विनः सर्वे कवयस्तूलिताःस्युः । अतो नेदं वर्तम सांप्रतमालक्ष्यते । अन्यच्च पद्यमिदं पृथक्प्रकृतमपि प्रकरणात् संगतमेवार्थमभिवत्ते । प्रत्युपमपि प्रकरणे मुक्तकायितं भाति । पद्यस्यास्याभावेऽपि पूर्वोत्तरयोऽसन्दर्भयोरन्वयो नांजस्य परित्यजति । तदेभिः कारणैस्तत्त्वमिदमाविर्विधातुमेव ईदृशं ग्रथितं पदं कवयित्रा प्रकरणाविरोधेनेति निश्चिनुमः । नास्य पद्यस्य अप्रकृतार्थाभिधायित्वसमर्थनार्थमस्माकं व्यवसायः, किन्तु अप्रकृतस्यैवार्थस्य अप्रतिसमाधेयैः युक्तिविशेषैः व्यवस्थापितता, अलंकाराशासकैरनुभीलितता च वरीवर्तीयस्मिन्नर्थे कवयितुरैदर्थप्रकटनार्थम् । न होकोऽप्यालंकारिकः सधीरमुवाच ‘करुण एक एव रसः अन्ये च तद्विर्ता’ इति ॥

युक्तिसिद्धा हि करुणविवर्तततेरेषाम् तथा हि—भग्नावरणा निर्विशेषा चिदेव रस इति सिद्धान्तात् आत्मस्वरूपता तावद्रसस्य संसिध्यत्येव । अतः खल्ल आत्मनो रसात्मकत्वे ‘रसो वै सः’ इति श्रुतिमपि प्रमाणयन्ति । स एतास्माभिरथ सर्वरसाधिष्ठानं करुण इति व्यपदिश्यते । आत्मनः करुणामूर्तित्वात् तदभिन्नस्य रसस्य तत्वं को वा प्रतिबन्धीयात् । ‘करुणामूर्ते न सर्वथोपक्ष्य’ इत्यात्मनः करुणामयत्वं अभिदधाति पण्डितराजः । आत्मनः करुणामयत्वानभ्युपगमे अनन्तकल्याणगुणवत्ता श्रुतिसिद्धा दुद्रमुत्सार्थेत । अनुरुद्धाद्वैतप्रक्रियां, आत्मनः गुणविगलितता, ततश्च करुणामयत्वाभावश्च यदि प्रसाध्येत, तदात्मे शान्तं, शिवम्, अद्वैतम् इत्यादिपदानामिव सकरुणपदस्याप्यात्मनि आङ्गस्यमनुषष्ठानीयम् । यद्यप्यालंकारिकाः शोकस्थायिकं तदनुगुणविभावानुभावकं च करुणं रसमभ्युपयन्ति । करुण-

मूर्ते इत्यादिपण्डितोक्तेश्व दयामूर्तित्वे एव तात्पर्यं चिदते । तथापि चित् एव रसत्वाभिधानात् आत्मनिष्ठेषु च निखिलेषु सदूगुणेषु करुणाया एव अभ्यर्हणीय-तमत्वात्, आत्मनः करुणामयत्वाभ्युपपत्त्यैव समानि जगन्ति प्राणवन्ति इत्यनुभवात्, अस्याः करुणाया अलंकारिकानां रसपरिगणने श्रूयमाणकरुणस्य च लौकिकहास्यस्य रसपरिगणनागणितहास्यस्येव अत्यन्तं भेदाभावाच्च नालंकारिक-करुणस्यात्मरूपत्वे विप्रतिपद्येत कश्चित् । अत्र च श्रीशङ्ककाचार्या एवं संवदन्ते—‘या दया हृदयगता हि करुणा लोके प्रसिद्धा । सा च लिङ्गरनुकर्तरि शोकं प्रतीयतां सामाजिकानामिति करुणव्यपदेश’ इति । यद्यकरुणात्मक आत्मा स्यात् तदा विश्वमिदं विपर्यस्येत् । सन्तु, अथवा न सन्तु तस्मिन्नन्ये सङ्घशः सदूगुणाः । करुणाभिधानस्तु गुणो न कदापि तं विमोक्तुमर्हति । यदि नाम न वर्तेत तस्मिन्नयमभ्यर्हणीयतमो गुणः कथमिवोदीरयेत् ‘अपि चेदसि पापेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः पापकृत्तमः । सर्वं ज्ञानपूर्वे-नैव वृजिनं सन्तरिष्यसि ॥’ ‘अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः?’ इत्यादि । आत्मा च करुणात्मक एव सन् रसात्मकस्संपद्यते । न ह्यकरुणो रसात्मकः प्रीयमाणश्व लोके दृष्टः । द्रुत्यात्मकविकासभाजि अन्तःकरणे प्रतिबिम्बनात् भग्नावरणा चित् हि रसशब्दवाच्या । द्रुत्यात्मकविकासश्व विना करुणं न कुत्राप्युपजायेत् । यद्यपि करुणे विप्रलम्भे शान्ते च द्रुतिस्तारतम्भेन वर्तते इति रसस्त्ररूपवादिभिरभ्यधायि । तत्रापि विप्रलम्भे शान्ते च करुणानु-प्रवेशेनैव तादृशी द्रुतिरिति परस्तात्प्रतिपादयिष्यामः । पूर्वोक्तरूपत्वे रसस्याभ्युप-गन्तव्ये न केवलमेषु त्रिषु रसेष्वेव द्रुतिः यावत्सर्वेषु रसेषु सा स्वीकरणीयैव जायते । द्रुतेः स्वीकारे च तत्कारणव्येन करुणस्तत्र स्वीकरणीय एव । अत्र च द्रुत्याश्रयत्वस्यान्तःकरणेऽभ्युपगमेऽपि तत्र चितोऽभेदाध्यासात् द्रुत्यात्मकत्वं तत्प्रतिबिभित्तचैतन्यस्यैव सिद्ध्यतीति भावः । एवं विना करुणापात्मनः प्रीयमाणत्वं च न संपद्येत् । प्रीतिश्व द्रुत्यात्मकचित्तविकासप्रतिफलित-चैतन्यानुभवादनन्येति तत्रापि द्रुतिकारणव्येन करुणरूपत्वमङ्गीकरणीयमेव । ईदृशप्रीत्याश्रयत्वादेवात्मनः ‘सर्वस्यात्मा परः प्रियः’ इति श्रावयति श्रुतिः । तद्विना करुणापात्मा रस्यमानः प्रीयमाणश्व नैवेत । तदभिव्यक्तिसामप्रयो रस्यादयः स्थायिनः, तद्विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभावाश्व । स च करुणः अभिव्यजक-भेदेन शृङ्गारहास्येत्यादिविभिज्ञव्यवहारप्रतामापद्यते । तमिमेव भावमभिप्रेत्य भग्नाश्वभव भूतिः—

‘एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदा-  
द्विजः पृथक्पृथगिगाश्रयते विवर्तन् ।  
आवर्तबुद्बुदतरङ्गमयान्विकारः न  
अभो यथा सलिलभेदे तु तत्समप्रम ॥’ इत्यभ्यधात् ।

तदेवं अभिव्यक्तरसस्त्रूपेण करुणैकताननैव रसानां लक्ष्यत इति समसाध्याम । अद्यत्वे पुनरालङ्घारिकसम्भतरसाभिव्यञ्जकरांतिरोऽपि करुणात्मता समेतां विद्यत एव सूक्ष्मया दृशा विलोकने इत्येतदुपपादयामः । तत्रादिमस्तावदाचकास्ति शृङ्खारः । ‘न विना विप्रलंभेन शृङ्खारः पुष्टिमश्नुते’ इतीयमालंकारिकाणामुक्तिरेवास्य रसस्य करुणावृष्टंभक्तामाविकरोति । उक्तेरस्या अपर्यथः— शृङ्खारो हि रस्यमानताप्राणस्तदैव जायेत यदा चित्ताभेदे अङ्कुरिता रतिः आलंबनविषयकबहुविधबहुमानविन्तासलिलेनानवरतमासिच्यमाना क्रमशः शाखोपशाखमभिवृद्धा व्यभिचार्यादिमन्दपवनस्पन्दनदृढीक्रियमाणमूला बहुना कालेन फलोन्मुखी सम्पदेत इति । तत्क्रयमिव नायिकानायकयोः प्रथम एव समागमे निहक्तो रसः प्रभवेत् ? तत्र हि नास्ति बहूकृतः परस्परालम्बनो भावः । तत्कीदृशोऽत्र रसोत्पादः ? न हि लता अङ्कुरितमात्रैव फलति । एवं प्रथमदर्शनेन तत्कालमङ्कुरिता रतिः कथं रसफलं सुवीत ? बहुकालानुवृत्तसमागमेन यदव्यस्ति संभोगशृङ्खाराख्यस्य रसस्योत्पत्यवकाशः । अथापि अनुकूलेन विप्रलंभेनैव तत्रापि रतिं रसात्मना परिणमयति निपुणः कविरित्येवालक्ष्यते । अतश्चैतत् सिध्यति विप्रलंभाद्विना न कदापि शृङ्खारस्य रस्यमानतेति । विप्रलभे च निःश्रेणिकासाधारण्येन दुखमेव विद्योतते नान्यत् । तस्य च शोकपर्यायत्वात् शोकैनैव शृङ्खारस्य परिपोष इति पर्यवस्थति । ततश्च कथं शृङ्खारः करुणाद्विप्रकृष्ट्येत । अयमत्र प्रकारः—साभिलाषदर्शनानन्तरं पुनरस्तदलाभेनोदीपितः शोकः परिवर्धमानो रतिमात्मनि बृहयन् पर्यन्ते रसात्मतामेतीति । अत्र च संवादा दृश्यन्ते—‘शृङ्गं च मन्मथोन्माथस्तदागमनहेतुकः’ ‘शृणाति चरमदशाप्राप्णेन हिनस्ति कामुकानिति शृङ्गं मन्मथोन्माथः । इह शृङ्गपदस्योत्कर्षार्थर्थलभेऽपि योगजशक्त्या मरणावधिको मान्मथो व्यापर इति सूच्यते । शृङ्गमृच्छतीति शृङ्खारः । अथवा शृङ्गं राति ददातीति शृङ्खारः’ । इत्याद्यः ॥

अपरस्तजन्यो हास्यः । शृङ्खारजन्यत्वेनैवास्य विशेषतः करुणादनतिरेकः समर्थनीयः । शृङ्खारस्य तदात्मत्वेनैव गतार्थत्वात् । तथा हि—हासा-

रुयोऽस्य स्थायी अस्थानगतरस्यादिभिरुद्धोध्यते । अतो तु अनुचिं शृङ्गारं हासपदमवेदयनित विदग्धाः । ततः शृङ्गारात्मकतयैवास्य न करुणान्तर्भावे विशेषतो बभीमो दृष्टिम् । शृङ्गारव्यतिरिक्तस्थले हास्यस्य उदयेऽपि शृङ्गारपदमुपलक्षणीकृत्य अस्थानगतानां सर्वेषामेव रसानां हास्यात्मकत्वमङ्गीकरणीयम् । अतश्च अन्येषां रसानां करुणोदितत्वं समर्थयद्विरस्माभिः हास्यस्यापि तदात्मकत्वं समर्थितमेव भवति ॥

अन्यो रौद्रः । अस्य च स्थायी क्रोधः । अर्यादिभिराहितादपकारादुपजातो मनसस्ताप एव मूलं क्रोधस्येति नेदीयन् समेषामनुभवः । अयं हि मनस्तापः लेशतोऽभिवृद्धः शोकपदवाच्यतां प्रपञ्चते । अतः करुणकारणजन्यतयास्यापि करुणानुवेधो दुर्वारः ॥

परस्ताद्वीरः—उत्साहश्वास्य स्थायी । उत्कर्षेण साहयति क्लेशान्स्वार्थनिर्वहणायेत्युत्साहः । समन्ततः सञ्चिपतिनामपि क्लेशानां तृणीकरणेन कार्योन्मुखमेव प्रवर्तमानो हि पुरुषः उत्साहवानाखण्यात इत्यलंकारकाराः । युक्तं चैददाभाति । यस्तु युद्धोपजनितानि दुःखानि बहूकुर्वन् निलीयत एकान्ते, सखलु भयानकस्य विषयः । न पुनर्वारस्य । सुमहदपि दुखजालं तूलीकृत्य मनसापि तदनाकलयनिव प्रवर्तमानो हि पुरुषघैरेयो वीरगोचरः । समरविजयी हेतिदलितः’ इति न्यायेन समरेषु समधिकदुःखसहनेनापि प्रतियुध्यमानस्य हि योधस्य उत्साहाश्रयत्वं निर्दर्शयन्ति । एवं युद्धवीरस्य दुखानुभवमूलामभिव्यक्तिमङ्गीकुर्मः ॥

एवं दानवीरोऽपि—न कदापि कर्णः कवचं कुण्डलं च। प्रयच्छन्निन्द्राय, मरणान्ताय दुःखाय असन्नद्यन्ते भुवने दानवीरः प्रथेत । ईदशो दद्य वीरोऽपि शिविस्स्वशरीरकर्तनव्यथां ततस्स्वशरीरवियोगदुःखं चाविगणन्य श्येनविषये प्रावर्तत कपोतत्राणनाय । सत्यवीरश्च हरिश्चन्द्रः स्मरणेनापि मनसः क्षोभमावहतां सुमहतां खेदानामनुभवेनापि दृढमुत्साहमाविर्वधात् सखे । तदेवं सर्वेऽपि वीरः करुणकारणदेवोत्पद्यमानो न करुणाद्विप्रकर्षमश्नुते । पूर्वोदितेषु रसेषु अभिव्यंजकत्वेन दुःखमेव निविष्टं, न शोकः । ततः कुतोऽत्र करुणावसरः ? दुःखशोकयोर्भेदादिति प्रत्यवस्थीयेत तदेदमुत्तरम्—शोको यथा अनभिव्यक्तकरुणरूपः करुणाकुरुत्वेन तस्य स्थायितां भजते, तथा दुःखमपि

शोकाङ्गुरायमाणमास्ते । अतः दुःखशोकयोरयं भेदोऽकिञ्चित्कर एव ।  
विमृश्यमाने चादितः करुणस्य दुःखमूलत्वं लक्ष्येतैव ॥

इतरो भयानको भयपरिणितजन्मा । भयं च भीत्यालभ्वनजन्य-  
दुःखभावनाभावितान्तःकरणवृत्त्यात्मकमेवेति समे स्वरसती जानन्ति ।  
रौद्रशक्त्यादिजनितं चित्तवैकल्प्यदं भयम् इति तल्लक्षणमामनन्ति । इतरथा  
कुतः कथं वा जनस्य भयोपजनिः । अनिष्टलेशोऽपि यत्र न  
संभावयेत तत्र सर्वे स्वयमेव प्रवर्तेन् । अन्यथा प्रवृत्ता अपि निवर्तेन्नेव ।  
अतोऽयमपि रसो दुःखादेव विवर्धत इति विशदमेव ॥

समनन्तरो रसो बीमत्साह्यो जुगुप्साप्राणकः । जुगुप्सा दोषेक्षणादि-  
भिर्जायमानः अप्रीतिनिमित्तकचित्तवृत्तिविशेषः । यदा हि जुगुप्स्यमांस-  
वसादिकमध्यक्षयति तदोद्दित्यते तस्मिन्प्रीत्यभावात्मकः खेदः । स च क्रमतो-  
ऽभिर्व्यमानो जुगुप्सापदव्यवहारमहंति । अतोऽत्रापि अभिव्यंजककोटौ करुणा-  
ङ्गानुप्रवेशः सुलक्ष एव ॥

अद्वृतश्च रसः न स्वातन्त्र्येणात्मानमितरेभ्यो लभत इति स नार्हति  
विशेषतो निर्देशम् । यतः ‘विविधेषु पदार्थेषु लोकसीमातिवर्तिषु । विस्फारश्चेतसो  
यस्तु स विस्मय उदाहृतः’ ॥ इत्युक्तरूपत्रिस्मयपरिमाणामः सः । सोऽयं विस्मयः  
निरुक्तरत्यादिभावगत एव सर्वत्रानुभूयते । एतदुक्तं भवति, रत्यादिभावा एव  
यदा लोकसीमातिवर्तिनः तदा विस्मयविषया भवन्ति इति विस्मयो न वस्तुतो  
रत्यादिभ्योऽतिरिच्यते । विस्मयव्यपदेशादशायां रत्यादयः विस्फुरितेन चेतसानु-  
भूयन्त इति अतोऽद्वृतो रसो न पर्यक्येन करुणानुगतो व्यपरेष्टु युक्तः ।  
अतः इममेकमेव रसमाचष्ट धर्मदत्तः । अद्वृतस्य चमक्त्वेकरूपत्वात् अन्येषां  
च रसानां चमक्त्वितसारत्वादेव अद्भुतात्मकत्वं पुरस्तात्प्रत्यपादयाम ॥

अन्तिमः शास्थायिकः शान्तो रसः । स च शमः सर्वेषु पदार्थेषु  
दुःखानुभावनं विना वैराग्यद्वारा नोत्पयेतेत्यानुभाविकमेवेदम् । अनुभूतशोकस्य  
हि वैराग्यं निरुद्धमूलमास्ते । वैराग्याचोपरत्यात्मकः शमः । ततश्च शान्तो  
रस इति तत्राप्यस्ति करुणानुप्रवेशः । अथैतेषां रसानां व्यसात्मता, प्रागभा-  
वात्मता वा शान्तस्य इध्यत इति मते तत्र चामैव शान्तो रस इति तस्य करुणात्म-  
कत्वे नास्त्येव विवादः । एवमखिलेषु रसेषु साक्षात्परम्परत्या वा करुणानुप्रवेशः  
विलसयेव । ततश्च सुष्ठु खल्वभ्यधायि भगवता कविवेधसा एको रसः करुण

एवेत्यादि । एतावता करुणस्य सर्वरसाधिष्ठानता प्रत्यपादि । तदनेन वर्तमना सर्वरसव्यंजकानां करुणरसव्यंजकत्वे सिद्धेऽपि शोकह्यस्य स्थायिनः इतरापेक्षया करुणसंनिकृष्टत्वात् तत्स्थायिकः करुण इति आलंकारिका आमनति । इतरेषु च रसेषु शोकादीनां करुणकारणत्वेन सम्मतानां अभिव्यंजकत्वेनानुप्रवेशः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकानिर्ग्राह्यः इति तत्तत्स्थूलाभिव्यञ्जकभेदेन तत्तद्रसत्वेन निर्देशः इति पर्यवस्थति ।

ननु वाचकास्सहदया एतावता प्रथत्संगादितेन मार्गेण सर्वरसानुप्रवेशः करुणस्य, तत्सर्वेषां करुणविवर्तता च निरणायि इति मा नाम मनस्यु भवतामत्र वस्तुतत्वेऽसंभावनोदीयात् । यथा सामुद्रेषु तरङ्गेषु जलात्मता साधयितुं सुशका न तथा मुक्ताफलस्य तदात्मता, प्रत्युत साध्यमानपि असंभावनापदवीमेवानुधावेत् । अतस्युसूक्ष्मं वस्तुतत्वं क्लेशेनैवास्मृदशां परिमितमतीनां प्रतिपादयितुं योग्यमिति न भवेद्यथोक्तस्य वस्तुनोऽन्यथाभावः ॥

किं च रामायणमादिकाव्यं सर्वरससंकुलमपि करुणप्रधानमवतारयितुमिच्छता भगवता वेधसा बल्मीकिजन्मनः चेतस्याभोगे करुणात्मको ह्यङ्कुरः निरुपः । मानिषादेत्यादिरामायणमूलपदं करुणं नु विकिरति । ततो हि अभिनवगुपाचार्याः रसः परिपूर्णकुभोच्छलनवत् चित्तवृत्तिनिष्यन्दस्वभाववाग्विलापादिवत् समयानपेक्षित्वेऽपि चित्तवृत्तिव्यंजकत्वादिनयेन अकृतकतयेवावेशवशात् समुचितच्छन्दोवृत्तादिनियन्त्रितः श्लोकरूपानां प्राप्तः मा निषादेत्यादि॑ इत्यभ्यधुः । यथा कृत्स्नस्य रामायणस्याङ्कुरायितमिदं पदं तथा तदूगतरसानामपि एतत्पदनिष्यन्ती रसो मूलभूत इति निश्चिनुपहे । वेदसोऽध्यत्र सम्मतिरेखेत यतस्ताद्कृपदमवतारयामास । तत्कविश्रेष्ठेऽयं निर्वार्यं सुसूक्ष्मं सर्वं इदं तत्वं अभ्यधादेको रस इत्यादि इति सिद्धयति ॥

अत्रैवमाक्षिप्यते यथा कविरयं करुणं सर्वग्राघान्येनाभिमन्यत इति कुतः कर्यं वावा च्छमः । नास्य दृश्ये कर्सिमश्वदपि तं प्राधान्येनै वर्णितमुपलभामहे । तथाहि माल्यां शृङ्गारः । वीरचरिते वीरः । उत्तरे चरिते विपलं मपोषितस्स एव शृङ्गारः । सत्येवं प्रबन्धत्रये स्वीये कुत्रायेतं रसं अङ्गिनमनादधतः अभिमततमोऽयं रस इति कथमिव वक्तुं पर्येत । अथ रामोत्तरे चरिते विलसत्यस्य सिद्धान्तविषयो रस इति साध्यते ; हन्त कुत्र वा नास्ति अयं रसः । ‘एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केन चित् । शृङ्गरे ललितोदूगरे कालिदासत्रयी

किमु' । इति शृङ्गारवर्णयितृत्वेन सुप्रसिद्धस्यापि कालिदासस्य ग्रन्थे किमु नो-  
पलभ्यतेऽयं रसः ? । येनोच्चैरुद्धृष्टेते भवभूतितेव प्रभवति करुणवर्णने इति ।  
अथात्र प्रधानतया वर्णितः करुणः न कालिदासीये दृश्ये दृश्यते इति अभिधीयते,  
तत्समीचीन एत्रायं हेतुरस्य कवेः श्लाघायाम् । अथापि नाध्यक्षयन्त्येते प्रति-  
पक्षिणोऽत्र करुणं प्रधानम् । 'वीरशृङ्गारयोरेकः प्रधानं यत्र वर्ण्यते । प्रस्त्र्यात-  
नायकोपेतं नाटकं तदुदाहृतम्' । इत्यभियुक्तोक्त्या वीरशृङ्गारयोरन्यतर एव  
वर्णनीयः दृश्ये । सति चैवं पारभ्यर्येतः श्रावियशिखामणिः कविरसौ कुनो वा  
कारणादभियुक्तोक्तिं तृणयेत् । तृणीकृत्य निबध्नन् करुणात्मना दृश्यं कथं सद्वि-  
राद्वियेत ? अनियमेन प्रथितस्य चास्य नाटकस्य कथमित्र नाटकत्वं सिद्धेत् ।

किं च करुणो हि शोकस्थायिकः । स च अमङ्गलप्रायः । तस्य च  
सदाचारप्रवर्तनपरत्वेन प्रवर्तिते दृश्यवर्मने निवेशः सुतरामेव न युज्येत ।  
सदाचारप्रवर्तनं प्रयोजनमाकलयद्विर्हिं नाटकादिगोष्ठी प्रवर्तितेति आनन्द-  
वर्धनाचार्या अभिप्रयन्ति । अतो न युक्तमिदमाभास्ते यत् तेन कविना निबद्ध-  
मपि ऐदंपर्येण शृङ्गारमवधूय तत्रारोष्य करुणं कवयितुरपयशःसमार्जनमिति । एवं  
करुणं तत्र प्रसाधयन्तरत्वे न तददृश्यविमर्शकाः इलेव वक्तुमुचितम् । तथाह्यत्र  
प्रल्यक्षमेव शृङ्गारमुपलभामहे । स च सीतापरिल्यागात्पूर्वं प्रथेऽङ्गे संभेगात्मनो-  
पक्षितः । अनन्तरं सविस्तरं विप्रलभेन परां कोटिमारोपितः । मध्ये च तृनीयाङ्के  
लेशतः संभेगमुपक्षिप्य विप्रलंभः अभूतपूर्वेण पथा सरसं परिपोषितः । तथाविधमुप-  
बृहितः शृङ्गारः अन्ते कविना संभेगात्मना निरुद्धश्च । तथा हि निर्वहणसन्धौ  
कवयिता रामायणोक्तकथाभागमपि खनिकारदिग्दर्शनमनुरुद्ध्य प्रतिभान-  
प्रकर्षेण सहृदयसंवादानुसारं परन्तेण प्रयत्नेन संभेगशृङ्गरं निरुवाह । तदलं  
कवितछुजेऽस्मिन् वृथापवादमुपक्षिप्य दोषगवेषण्या । तथाह्यत्र भावार्थदीपिकाकारो  
नारायणः 'नाविकानायकयोः इतेरतरानुरागस्फुटंकरणस्यैव रसिकजनरसायन-  
त्वात् तस्य च विप्रलंभपराकाष्ठायमेव संभवात् प्रियतमापरिल्यागसमभिव्यंजि इत्य  
संभेगपर्यन्तत्वे फलतो विप्रलंभरूपत्वात् विप्रलंभकरुणयोः माधुर्यस्य प्रकर्षव-  
त्वाच्च सीतापरिल्यागात्मकमिति' वृत्तं रसिकजनशिखामणिः भवभूतिः पर्यग्रहीदि-  
ल्यमिथते । तदेतावता रामोत्तरचरिते प्रधानः शृङ्गार एत्र, न पुनः करुण इति  
फलितम् ॥

अत्रैवं समाधिरभिधीयते । किमिदं 'वीरशृङ्गारयो' रित्यादिलाक्षणिकानां  
वचनं वेदवाक्यमिव तथैव संप्राद्य, आहो युक्तिसंयोजनस्याध्यस्त्ववसरः इति

पृच्छामः । यद्यत्र युक्तिरप्यवकाशं लभेत तदा प्रकृतं पदं प्रलापयितमापद्येत । तथाहानुयुञ्जमहे —कुतो वा वीरशृङ्गाराभ्यामन्यः करुणः नाटके न प्रधानेन प्रयोक्तव्य इति । यद्यमिनयानुगुणो न भवति करुणः हन्त शान्तस्य अनभिनेयत्वमभिग्रेत्य ‘अष्टौ नाव्ये रसाः स्मृताः’ इति वादिनां मतमुन्मूल्यता पण्डितराजेन अस्या युक्ते-स्मृदूरमुदस्तत्वात् । तत्तदसानुगुणाभिनयाभ्यासेन तथाविधमभिनयतो नटस्य करुणाभिव्यंजकत्वं कुतो वा न संभाव्यते । नन्वबोचाम करुणस्य शोकस्थायि-कत्वात् तद्वर्णनस्य अमंगलायितत्वात् न तत्त्वाटके प्रयुज्यत इति । तथात्वे श्रव्येऽपि सः न निवेशं लभेत । यथा नाटकगोष्ठी सदाचारप्रवर्तनपरा प्रवर्तिता तथा श्रव्यगोष्ठयपि । तत्रापि अमङ्गलवर्णनं कथंचा सद्विसंसमन्येत । यद्वेदाप्रभु-संमितात् अधिगतं इत्यादिना काव्यसामान्यस्यैकस्यैव लक्ष्यस्याभिहितत्वात् । अपि च प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्यात्मकसदाचारप्रवर्तने यथेतरेषां स्थायिनां प्रयोजकत्वं तथा शोकस्यापि । किमु तत्र मङ्गलत्वामङ्गलत्वकृतः तरतमभावेऽपि प्रयोजकतया-पेक्षितः । यदेव कव्ये वर्ण्णनां रसानां प्रतिपादनावसरे अनदर्हस्य प्रतिपादनं कथमिव संगच्छेत् । अपि च यथा रौद्रादीनां कैश्चिन्निमित्तैर्नाटकानुपयुक्त्वेऽपि तत्प्रभेदोपयुक्तता तद्वदस्याप्युपयोगमालक्ष्य तत्र परिगणितमिति उच्यते, तथापि अन्येषु दृश्यमानं निमित्तं प्रकृते न हि दृश्यते । पुत्रादिवियोगजन्मा शोकः अमङ्गल-प्राय इति इदमेव तत्त्विषेधे निमित्तमभिधीयेत, विप्रलंभात्मकशृङ्गारस्याभ्ययमेव परिणामः । सर्वांशतः करुणविप्रलंभे । अपिचैतादशस्य अमङ्गलस्य अनुचिन्तनमपि अनुचितमाकलयद्विः लक्षणविधायिभिः अप्राधान्येन निवेश्यमानोऽप्यव्यं नाभ्य-नुज्जेयः । किञ्च महानयमवसरश्चिन्तायाः यदादिकविर्भगवान् करुणात्मकमेव जग्रन्थ प्रबन्धम् । तस्य च तथाविधस्यापि इतरकाव्यापेक्षया पारम्यमेव समेव समवलम्बन्ते । वेदतामप्यनुमन्यन्ते । स च कविविधाता तदनुध्यानेन महत्कल-मास्याति । अथ तत्रापि शृङ्गार एव न करुणः, हन्त भवन्मते आचार्या-नन्दवर्धनेऽपि व्यत्यस्तमतिः । स हि ‘रामायणे हि करुणो रसःस्वयमादिक-विना सूत्रितः, ‘शोकः श्लेषकत्वमागत’ इत्येवंवादिना निवृद्धश्च स एव सीतात्यन्तवियोगपर्यन्तमेव स्वप्रबन्धमुपरचयता’ इत्यमिदधानः भवतामसम्मतः । लाक्षणिका हि लक्ष्याप्यनुरूप्य प्रवर्तमानाः जाग्रति प्रामाणिकमूर्त्यन्यस्य काव्योत्तमे तत्राप्यादिकाव्ये तदनादरेण अन्यथा सिद्धान्तयितुं न कदाचित्कथं-चिदपि पर्याप्ताः । नाटके पुनरस्य रसस्य पृथक्करणे नैव युक्तिमध्यक्षयामः । यतो ‘<sup>५</sup> तेतनानपि चेतनवत् चेतनानचंतनवत् । व्यवहारयति यथेष्टु सुक्त्रिः

काव्ये स्वतन्त्रतया' इति न्यायेन कविशक्तेरानन्त्यात् अमङ्गलप्रायमपि कवयिता  
मङ्गलप्रायमादध्यात् । तत्कविशक्तिमसंभाव्य अनालोच्य च लाक्षणिकमर्यादां  
नैको रसः पृथक्तर्व्यः । रामेत्तरचरिते अन्तर्नाटिकायां करुण एव रस इति  
अयं कविर्व्यक्तमभिधते । यथा सूत्रधारः, 'प्राचेतसः आज्ञापयति यदिद-  
मस्माभिरार्थेण चक्षुषा समुद्रीक्ष्य पावनं वचनामृतं करुणाद्गृहसं च किंचिदुप-  
निवद्धं तत्र सगौरवमवधातव्यमिति । यदस्य कवेरप्ययं नाटके अनभिमतः करुणः  
कथमेवं भाषितेति भवन्त एव विदांकुर्वन्तु ॥

तदेवं दृश्ये करुणस्य असांगल्यपरिहारेऽपि प्रकृते रूपके शृङ्गार एव  
निवद्ध इत्यत्र किमस्ति वाधकम्? इत्यनुयुज्यमाने कवेरस्याशयः समालोचनायः  
लेशत इत्येव प्रार्थयामः । प्रकृतः कवयिता वल्मीकिजन्मनि निरतिशयभक्तिमान्  
तत्कृतश्रव्यं प्रबन्धं दृश्यात्मना जग्रन्थेति अवश्यमेवेष्टव्यम् । ततो तु वोरचरिते  
'प्राचेतसे मुनिकृष्णा प्रथमः कवीनां यत्पावनं रघुपतेः प्रणिनाय वृत्तम् । भक्तस्य  
तत्र समरन्त ममापि वाचः तासु प्रसन्नमनस कृतिनो भजन्ताम्' ॥ इति ।  
अत्रास्य भक्तिवहूकृतस्य भावस्योपलब्धैव उत्तरचरिते आदावेव निवद्धस्य 'इदं  
कविभ्यः पूर्वेभ्यः' इत्यस्य, 'पूर्वकविशब्देन वाल्मीकिरेव कविना बहुमानात्  
निर्दिष्टः' इनि कस्यचन व्याहगानं न वयं निषेद्धं प्रभवामः । स एवं तद्वक्तः  
कविः वाल्मीकिर्वणनविषयीभूतं रामायणवस्तु, श्रव्यात्मना प्रथने पौनरुक्त्या-  
द्विभ्यदिव दृश्यात्मना प्रथितवान् । आदर्शभूते च रामायणे करुण एव रस इति  
प्रत्यपादयाम । अथापि स रसः प्राधान्येन सर्वांगव्यापी उत्तरे चरित एव समाच-  
कास्ति । यतो गतानुगतिको लोकः पूर्वोक्तामङ्गलाशंसया तत्पारायणादपि विभ्यत्  
पट्टाभिषेकप्रकरणान्निर्वते । पट्टाभिषेकान्ते च काण्डषट्के करुणस्य लेशत  
एवोन्मीलनात् वीर एव परमुक्तः प्रतिभासते । रघुवरस्य अत्यन्तवीरायितं  
निखिलमपि चेष्टितं तैत्रैव पर्यासमेधते । काण्डसकस्याध्येकवाक्यतायां यदपि  
करुणः प्रधानो व्यवतिष्ठते तत्र च वीरः मुख्यमङ्गम् । अथापि रामायणं  
पूर्वोत्तरभागात्मना प्रभिन्नं वीरकरुणरसप्रधानत्वेन व्यपदेश्यं भवति । अतस्त-  
द्वक्तोऽयं कविः प्रथमं चरितं वीरप्रधान्येन अप्रधनात् । उत्तरं च चरितं करुणात्म  
कमिति वक्तुमस्त्यवकाशः । तथाहि—वीरचरितस्यामुखे 'तेनेदमुद्गृहतजगत्रयमन्यु-  
मूलं अस्तोकवीरगुरुसाहस्रदूसुतं च । वीरादभुतप्रियतया रघुनन्दनस्य धमदुहो  
दमयितुश्वरितं निवद्धम्' ॥ इति वादिना प्रतिज्ञातमेव वीरचरिते वीर एव रसः  
इति । अयं हि कविः सर्वत्र प्रतिपादनीयस्य रसस्य ग्रन्थादावेव प्रतिपादयन्वि-

लाक्यते । यतो मालत्यामपि ‘भूम्ना रसानां गहनाः प्रयोगाः सौहार्दहृद्यानि विचेष्टितेनि । औद्रित्यमायेजितकामसूत्रं चित्राः कथा वाचि विदध्यता च’ ॥ इति शृङ्गारं प्रतिजानीते । अथैव प्रतिज्ञानशीलोऽपि नोत्तरचरितादौ करुणं प्रतिज्ञे । नापि शृङ्गारम् । विमर्शकमनःक्षोभमाधातुमेवैव न प्रतिज्ञातवानिव । वयं तु पश्यामः उत्तरचरितादावप्रस्तुवानोऽपि एनं रसं वीरचरितान्ते नैव न प्रास्तावीत् । दृश्ययोरनयोः एकंनेत्रुत्वेन अविच्छेदमाकल्यैव वीरचरितान्ते लेशतः प्रल्यपादयदिति तर्क्यामः । उत्तरचरितादौ च वृत्तकथाप्रस्तावे वीरचरितानुपूर्वीमेव कक्षीकरोति । वीरचरिते सप्तमेऽङ्के महेश्वरः राममाशासानः ‘एतावन्तं त्वया काळं युद्धवीरोऽवलभितः । धर्मदान-दयावीरास्त्वामिदानीमुपस्थिताः’ ॥ इत्येवमभिवते । सातां विवासयन् रघूद्वहः धर्मवीरं अभिनीय किल प्रादर्शयत् । अन एतोत्तरे नाटके ‘स्नेहं दयां च सौख्यं च यदि वा जानकीमपि । आराधनाय लोकस्य मुञ्चतो नास्ति मे व्यथा’ इति व्याहरति । अपि च कवयितारामात् विजघटयिषुरेव सीतां अभिषेककाले बहुमिर्बहुधा आशिषः कारयन् न कस्यापि मुखेण सीतया सह सुखमास्त्वेति वाचयति । वाचिते च ‘न हीश्वरव्याहृतयः कदाचित्पुण्णन्ति लोके विपरीतमर्थं’ इति नीत्या सीतावियोगविषयः करुणः नावकाशं लभेत । यदि विप्रलभ्म एताभिप्रेतः अन्ते च समागमः तदात्वे नास्यादिशस्तत्राप्रसक्तिर्युजेत । यतः अल्पकालावभिविप्रलभेऽपि तदनन्तरं महतां वाक्यावैयर्थ्याय भविष्यत्येव समागमः । तेन च सुखम् । विनैतं भावं कथमिव कवी रामभक्तः सह सीतया सुखमेधीत्याशिषं न वादयेत् । अनेवंभावोऽपि यदि नामैवं आशिषंकर्तुं विस्मरेत् कविः हन्त वञ्चित एव तदात्वे स्यादयं विफलया कवितया । यद्यस्य रामविषय-शृङ्गारवर्णन एवैदमर्थः न तस्य पूर्वस्मिन्निव चरिते उत्तरस्मिन्नस्यवकाशः । यदि तादृशं कथाभागं शृङ्गारवर्णनुकूलमवधूय अयमेव भागो गृह्णेत हन्त भवभूतेः पाठवमन्यादशमाविष्कृतं भवेत् । पूर्वचरिते धीरोदात्तस्य नव्यतास्पृष्य रामस्य सीतागतरतिभाववर्णनं हि रसं सपरीवाहं पुणीयात् । उत्तरे तु राघवः धर्मेकनिष्ठः अनतिक्रान्तयौवनोऽपि प्रायशोऽनुभूततास्पृष्यफलः धर्मवीरेचितो भासते । नव्ययौवनविशेषिते पुरुषगैरये इव यौवनस्य द्वितीयं भागमधितिष्ठति वर्ण्यमाना रतिः न स्वेदेत्यत्र रसिका एव प्रमाणम् । अपि चोत्तरे चरिते ‘अनिर्भिन्नो गभीरत्वादन्तर्गूढवनव्यथः । पुटपाकप्रतीकाशः रामस्य करुणो रसः’ इत्यादिभिः वचनैः करुणमेव प्रकृतं व्यनक्ति तत्र तत्र, न

शृङ्गारम् । अत एव 'एको रसः करुण एवे'त्यादि पदं प्रकृतदश्यरसनिधर्मणे कुञ्जिकावितमाल्याति कोऽप्याङ्गलङ्घयाख्याना । अयं च कविः आदित प्रभृति आदृश्यसमाप्ति करुणमविच्छेदेन निर्वोद्धुं काहशं प्रयत्नमास्थितवान् इति अस्य वर्णनार्थातिविवेचनावसरे स्पष्टयामः । अन्ते सीतासमागमस्यापि घटितवात् शृङ्गार एव रस इति यदभिप्रेतं तत्राभ्युत्तरं सुलभमेव । किमतिनेनैकेन लेशेन सर्वोऽपि प्रबन्धः विपर्यासमेष्यति । यदि शृङ्गार एवाभिप्रेतः तर्हि कथमित्र माल-ल्यामित्र अत्रापि न वर्णयेत् । प्रकृतरसवर्णनेऽस्य अन्यादशी नैपुणीति प्रतिपाद-यिष्यामहे ॥

किं चायमंशो नाटकेषु भरतवाक्यमित्र पृथक्तरैवावभासते इति तत्परिशीलिनामनुभवः । रामभक्त्या तरलितमानसः कविः सीतावियोगेन तथा मूर्छन्तं परितपन्तं प्रलपन्तं चोपेक्षितुमसमर्थो भागमिमं बट्यामास । अतोऽयं भागः करुणप्रावान्ये लेशतोऽपि बाधं नाधास्यति । यदुदितमस्माभिर्वीरचरितानु-वाद उत्तरचरिते बहुलमुपलभ्यत इति तत्र 'ब्रह्मादयो ब्रह्महिताय तथा पर-स्सहस्रं शरदस्तपांसि । एतान्यदर्शन् गुरुवः पुराणाः स्वान्येव तेजांसि तपो-मयानि' ॥ 'जनकानां रघुगां च सम्बन्धः कस्य न प्रियः । यत्र दाता प्रहीता च स्वयं कुशिकनन्दनः' । इत्यादि सुबहु विद्यत इति विस्तरभयान्त तसंग्रहणे प्रयत्नतेऽस्माभिः । अन्यच्च चित्रदर्शनावसरे वीरचरितोपक्षिसामेव कथां प्रस्तु-वानः तद्विरुद्धं अन्यप्रन्थत उपलभ्यमानं कथाभागमप्रस्तुवानश्च कवयि-ता तयोरेकचरितत्वमभिप्रैतीति नायं वक्तव्योऽशः । तदियता प्रपञ्चेन उत्तरराम-चरितनाटके करुण एवाङ्गी, शृङ्गारदयश्च अङ्गभूता इति निर्णयामः ॥

अथेदार्णी एतदीयकरुणस्य अन्यदीयात्तस्माङ्गेदोपदर्शनाय तद्वर्णना-शैलीमत्रोपहरामः । कविर्यं विनैवान्यरसस्य विशेषतः सम्बन्धं प्रकृतं रसं पुणोष्टति, पुष्प्यति च सर्वत्रेतिनेदं गृद्धतमं तद्प्रन्थशीलिनाम् । तथाहि वीरचरिते आदिमस्य कथाभागस्य सुविस्तरस्य सत्वेऽपि रामगतस्य वीरस्य वर्णनाय विश्वामित्रसमागमानन्तरमेव विवेऽवकाश इति तत एव दृश्यमाभमते । मध्ये च सीताविवाहानन्तरं अयोध्यामागतस्य विस्तरतो वर्णनीयस्यापि शृङ्गारस्य लेशत एव वर्णनमाधते, अल्पीयसेऽपि जामदग्न्यवृत्तान्तस्य अङ्गद्वयाविकेन भागेन । ततो वनप्रस्थानं राममुखेन प्रस्तुवानः मन्थरागमनेन समर्थयंश्च तत्रत्यं महान्तं करुणांभिं कुत्रापि चुलुक्यति । एतमयं प्रकृतरससमर्थनपरः तत्र तत्र अप्रकृतमङ्गभूतमपि रसं विशिष्य नादते । एवं मालत्यामपि शृङ्गारम् ।

किं बहुना, प्रायः प्रत्यक्षरं प्रकृतरसनिष्ठन्दो नैतदीये काव्ये इत्वान्यत्र द्रष्टुं सुशकः । अथापि सर्वत्र प्रकृतरसवर्णने जागरूकमपि कविं बलादवधूयेत् करुणः परं उद्धिथ निर्गतो विलोक्यते इति विशदनीय एतायं विषयः । अयं सर्वानपि रसान्पृथगाधाय प्रकृतमेत्र पारम्येण पोषयति । अथाप्यदसीयोक्तिः प्रकृतरसपोषणव्यप्रापि सर्वी, एकतः प्रकृतं रसं अन्यतः करुणं च स्नात्यतीति महाननेन करुणस्य सम्बन्धः । तथा ह्युत्तरे चरिते पञ्चमेऽके प्रवृद्धे महाहत्वोन्मुखे वीरे लतोदितानि विक्रान्तवचनानि तदुचितं वीरं रसं पुण्यान्यपि प्रकरणज्ञैः पूर्वोत्तरपरामर्शकैः लवं च रामसुतं विजानद्विः विशेषतः सीतारामवृत्तस्मरणोपजनितः करुण एतानुभूयते । न केवलमत्रैव यावद्वीरचरिते मालत्यां वैत्रेयविलोक्यते । तथाहि वीरचरिते तृतीयेऽके तपोवीरस्य स्फुरितकोपस्य विश्वामित्रस्य जामदग्न्यं प्रत्युक्तौ ‘ब्रह्मक्षत्रसमाजमाक्षिपसि यद्वत्से च घोराशयः’ इत्यादि पदं वीरकरुणौ युगपत्त्वावयति । अत्र वत्से घोराशयत्वं यद्यपि विशेषतः कोपकारणम्, अथापि वत्सघोराशयपदे कामपि करुणस्य काष्ठां व्यङ्गः । तथा वसिष्ठोक्तौ ‘कामं हि नः स्वजन एष तथापि दर्पात् व्यारं व्यवस्थति कथं तु भवेदवश्यः । सन्दूषितेन च मया सकृदीक्षितश्वेत् वत्सस्य भार्गवशिशोः दुरितं हि तत्स्यात्’ वत्सस्य भार्गवशिशोरित्यादौ करुणस्विशेषो लक्ष्यते । एवं प्रायशः परामृश्यमाने करुणानुबन्धः अविज्ञिन्नो विभाव्येत । मालत्यां प्रथमाङ्के शृङ्गाररसस्यन्दिनि माधवोदीरिते ‘सन्तापसन्तातिमहाव्यसनाये’-त्यादि पदेऽपि इयमेव कथा । सर्वेषां रसानामङ्गभावे श्रद्धानोऽपि करुणकक्षीकरे अवश एव अवदधाति । मालत्यां विप्रलम्भात्मना शृङ्गरं बहूकरिष्णुः करुणमवतार्य शतशो मूर्च्छयति माधवम् । वनस्थलीं च वस्तुत एव रोदयन् वज्रस्यापि दलति हृदयम् । दशमाङ्कादौ कामन्दक्यादिगतत्वेन करुणमेव रसं सविशेषमुक्तर्षयति । पञ्चमे च वीभत्समन्तरा करुणमवतार्य मालतीगतेन तेनैव शृङ्गारमवतारयति । एवं वीरचरिते सीतावियोगे रामगतं विप्रलम्भं करुणात्मकमेव वर्णयति । तथा च लक्ष्मणोक्तिः ‘शोकाग्निरिव जङ्गमः’ इति । एवं वियोगतस्यापि जडायालम्बनं करुणं विस्तृणाति । तदेवं करुणवशङ्गतस्य कवेः करुणात्मकेतिवृत्तप्रणयने सर्वतः श्लाघनीयं हि वैदग्ध्यम् । ततः स्थाने हि कालिदासो बदति ‘नाटके भवभूतिर्वा वयं वा वयमेव वा । उत्तरे रामचरिते भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते’ इति । सत्यमेव सहदयाः ‘अरसस्सरसो भवेद्वृं रसिकोऽपि द्रुततामवान्मुयादि’ ति रसनकमः अव्यभिचारेण भवभूतीयादन्त्रत्र कुत्र नाम समुपलभ्येत । उत्तरचरिताव-

लोकने हि प्रतिपदं क्षतसेतुवन्धन इवौषः प्रसवति करुणः । शम्बूकवधावसे  
प्रयुक्तं रे हस्त दक्षिण मृतस्य शिशोर्द्विजस्येति पदं कस्य वा कीदर्शं वा हृदय-  
ग्रन्थि न भेदयति । तृतीयाङ्के प्रवर्तितं प्रावरोदनं चास्माकं समेषां प्रलक्षयेव ।  
प्रथमाङ्कोपक्षितानि 'त्वया जगन्ति पुण्यानि त्वय्यपुण्या जनोक्तयः । नाथवन्तस्त्वया  
लोकास्त्वमनाथा विपत्स्यसे ॥' 'प्रियां छन्नना परिददामि मृत्यवे सैनिके गृह-  
शकुन्तिकामिव' 'अपूर्वकर्मचण्डालमयि मुखे विमुच्च माम् । श्रितासि चन्दनभ्रान्त्या  
दुर्विंपाकं विषद्वम् ॥' 'आतङ्कस्फुरितकठोरगर्भगुर्वीं कव्याद्वयो बलिमिव दारुणः  
क्षिपामि' इत्यादिपद्यानि स्मर्यमाणान्यपि तत्क्षणमेव रसपरवशमादधते हृदयम् ।  
करुणात्मकस्य कवेः करुणात्मके सन्दर्भे स्थलविशेषे करुणाविष्करणं हौसक-  
निदानमापद्येत । तदत्रत्यान् द्वित्रान् विशेषान्परमुपवर्णयामः । पञ्चमेऽङ्के लवगत-  
वीररसप्रस्तावे रामाधिकेषेण प्रकृतनायकापर्कर्षः कृतः कविना न शोभामावहति  
इति केषांचिद्विषयारोपणं न सामीचीन्यमेति । यतो राघवः सर्गभीयास्सीताया  
विपत्तिमालोच्य आत्मानमप्रतिष्ठं मन्वानः परितपति । तदावे तस्य पुत्रात्पराभवे  
वर्णयमाने कोऽपि अपूर्वो रसपरीवाह अनुभूयत एव सामाजिकैः । सुमन्त्रोऽपि  
कथंचिदेवमाशङ्क्य तत्रासंभावनां 'लतायां पूर्वद्वनायां प्रसवस्योद्भवः कुतः'  
इत्यादिना विवृण्यन् किमु करुणं न व्यनक्तिः । लवचन्द्रकेत्वोश्च युद्धसमुदाचारः  
उदार एव सन् पूर्ववृत्तमनुस्मारयन् सहृदयश्चाध्य एव । अतो नात्राल्पमप्यनौ-  
चित्यं पञ्चमाङ्कप्रस्तावे निभालयामः । वीरचरितान्तप्रतिपादितनीत्या धर्मवीर-  
तैवात्र निदानं समस्यापि करुणवृत्तस्य । तदेवं नैकोऽपि कविः ईदूक् करुणात्मकः  
एतावतापि कालेन नाविर्बमाववन्यमिति अस्य महाकवे: 'उत्पत्त्यते मम तु कोऽपि  
समानधर्मी' इति वचनप्राप्तयेन ताटशं महार्थं कालं प्रतिपालयामहे । तथाहि  
विश्वविदितः कालिदासोऽपि अस्य रसस्य वर्णने भवभूतेः शततमीमपि कलां  
नाईतीति सधीरमभिदध्महे । अतो नु कोऽपि रसिकशिखामणिः, यदि  
शाकुन्तलपञ्चमांकं भवभूतिर्व्यलिखिष्यत् शकुन्तलां सामाजिकांश्च शतशोऽ-  
मूर्च्छियिष्यत्' इत्यभ्यधात् । समानोऽयं पन्थास्सार्थवाहवृत्तान्तेऽपि । शाकु-  
न्तलोपेक्षया उत्तररामचरिते चित्तद्विविशेषः विनैव ग्रन्थावलोकनं सुशक-  
प्रतिपादयितुम् । तथाहि 'शृङ्गरे विप्रलम्भे च करुणे च प्रकर्षयत् । माधुर्य-  
मार्दितां याति यतस्तत्राधिकं मनः' । इत्यानुभविकसिद्धान्तः । यद्यपि  
दिङ्गनागः कवयिता इदमेवेतिवृत्तं एतद्रसप्राधान्येन सर्वांशसारं कुन्दमालाख्यं  
विरचितवान् । ततश्च भवभूतेस्साम्येन उत्कर्षेण वा संस्त्रयते । अथापि निम्नेन

भावेन विलोक्यमाने कुन्दमाला बहुभिः अंशैः उत्तरामचरितमनुकरोति,  
लेशतश्च शाकुन्तलमिति स्पष्टमाचकास्ति । अथतनैः प्रामाणिकैश्चायं भावस्सम्मत  
एव । अस्माभिस्त्वत्र अस्य विषयस्य सविस्तरं प्रतिपादने अलब्धावकाशैः  
प्रतिज्ञामात्रेणोपरम्यते । तन्नास्येव भवभूतेस्समः करुणवर्णने इत्येव निश्चिनुमः ।  
अतः भरतवाक्ये प्रकृतेन कविना सत्यमेवाभ्यधायि ‘शब्दब्रह्मविदः कवेः  
परिणतप्रज्ञस्य वाणीमिमामिति ॥

यस्मादिह निरालम्बैः अस्माभिः परिनिश्चिताः ।

भावाः केऽप्यत्र विद्वद्द्विः क्षन्तव्यमसमझसम् ॥

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## VEDIC STUDIES

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

### § 1.15. *The Act of Truth in the Rgveda.*<sup>1</sup>

An Act of Truth is the utterance of a proposition that is true with the intention, which may or may not be expressed in words, that the object of the speaker may be realised by such utterance. Prof. E. W. BURLINGAME has published an informative paper on this subject in JRAS. 1917, 429 ff., from which I extract the following passages:

"An Act of Truth is a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command or resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished. For example, a hunter asks a sage how a certain nymph can be captured, and the sage replies: Nymphs can be captured by the utterance of a truth; nor, under such circumstances, have they power to vanish from sight". Accordingly the hunter says to the nymph he desires to capture: "You are the beautiful daughter of King Druma; if this be true, halt! you are bound fast! If it be true that you are the daughter of King Druma and that you were reared by the king, move not a foot, O fair Manoharā!" By the utterance of this truth on the part of the hunter the nymph addressed is immediately bound fast, and is unable to vanish from sight; but all her companions vanish into the air. . . . A single truth is sufficient; and, as in the examples cited, a truth of the most commonplace sort. As a rule the Act of Truth refers to some such fact as that the agent, or the person on whose behalf the Act is performed, possesses certain good qualities or is free from certain evil qualities; that he has done certain things he ought to have done, or that he has left undone certain things he ought not to do. . . . In connection with the Power of Truth are sometimes mentioned Powers of Righteousness, such as the power of goodness and the power of merit; and as well

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1. The abbreviation VVSt is used here to denote the author's *Vedic Studies*, Vol. I. (published in 1932).

the superhuman might of spirits, deities, and Buddhas. Such mention does not mean, however, that the Act of Truth in any way depends for its efficacy upon the co-operation of these other forces, powerful though they are. Truth, in and by itself all-powerful and irresistible, is essentially distinct from them, and operates independently of them. Truth, to the exclusion of any ordinary physical power or cause, is the sole power whereby the conjurer causes rain to fall, fire to turn back, poison to be struck down. There is nothing that cannot be accomplished by the Truth. Men, gods, powers of nature, all animate and inanimate things alike obey the Truth. Even the Buddhas themselves employ Acts of Truth. The Act of Truth commonly takes the form of a spell or charm, most often that of a healing charm . . . it is the stock in trade by which men play, one after another, the parts of wizard, conjurer, magician, physician, surgeon, good Samaritan, rain-maker, prophet, and priest. . . . The Pāli word for "Act of Truth" is *saccakiriyā*. . . . The spell is sometimes referred to as a "Truth-Utterance:" Pāli *saccavajja*, Sanskrit *satyavādyā*; Pāli *saccavacana*, Sanskrit *satyavacana*; Sanskrit *satyopavācana*, *satyavākyā*, *satyaśrāvanya*. Sometimes it is called simply a "Truth": Pāli *saccam*, Sanskrit *satyam*. The formula used varies considerably. . . . The formal utterance under such circumstances and for such purposes as have been mentioned is in fact a magic art of the most primitive sort. The fundamental concept underlying it is not peculiar to the Buddhists or to the Hindus, but is, and always has been, the common possession of all races of mankind".

It hardly needs to be pointed out that the purpose sought to be accomplished by an act of truth is not, generally, one that can be accomplished by ordinary means. That is to say, the purpose for which an act of truth is employed, is, in most cases, the performance of a miracle;<sup>1</sup> see OLDBERG's *Religion des Veda*, p. 519, n. 2.

1. Compare in this connection 2 Kings, i, 10-12: "And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty. If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty".

In the paper in question, Prof. BURLINGAME has cited many examples of acts of truth; I shall cite some here, mostly from the epics:

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 2, 64, 40: The father of the ascetic youth killed by King Daśaratha in the forest says:

apāpo'si yathā putra nihataḥ pāpakarmaṇā|  
tena satyena gacchāśu ye lokās tvastra-yodhinām||

2. *Mahābhārata*, 3, 269, 21: Draupadī says to her abductor Jayadratha:

yathā vāham nāticare katham cit  
patīn mahārāhā manasāpi jāta|  
tenādyā satyena vaśikṛtam tvām  
draṣṭā 'smi pārthaiḥ parikṛṣyamāṇam||

3. *Ibid.*, 8, 98, 45 ff.: Arjuna fits an arrow into his bow and kills Karna with it:

tatas tu tam vai śaram aprameyam  
Gāndīva-dhanvā dhanusī vyayojayat|  
yuktvā mahāstreṇa pareṇa cāpaṁ  
vikṛṣya Gāndīvam uvāca satvaram|| 45  
ayam mahāstra-prahilo mahā-śarah  
śarirahṛc cāsu-haraś ca durhṛdah|  
tapo 'sti taptam guravaś ca toṣitā  
mayā yadiṣṭam suhutam yadi śrutam||

anena satyena nihantv ayam śarah  
susamhitah Karṇam arim mamorjitam|  
ity ūcivāṁś tam pramumoca bāṇam  
Dhanam̄jayah Karṇa-vadhāya ghoram|| 47  
tenārjunas tan mahaniyam asya  
śiro 'harat sūta-putrasya rājan|| 50cd

4. *Ibid.* 14, 69, 17-25s Kṛṣṇa revives the dead child of Uttara:

pratijajñe ca Dāśārhas tasya jīvitam Acyutah	
abравic ca viśuddhātmā sarvam viśrāvyan jagat	17
na bravīmy Uttare mithyā satyam etad bhavisyati	
eṣa samjīviyāmy enam paśyatām sarva-dehinām	18
nokta-pūrvam mayā mithyā svaireś api kadācana	
na ca yuddhāt parāvṛttas tathā semjīvatām ayanī	19
yathā me dayito dharmo brāhmaṇāś ca viśeṣataḥ	
Abhimanyos suto jāto mr̄to jīvatv ayam tathā	20

'yathā 'ham nābhijānāmi vijaye tu kadācana	
virodham tena satyena mṛto jīvatv ayam śiśuh	21
yathā satyam ca dharmaś ca mayi nityam pritiṣṭhitah	
tathā mṛtah śiśur ayam jīvatād Abhimanyujah	22
yathā Kaṇisaś ca Keśī ca dharmeṇa nihataū mayā	
tena satyena bālo 'yam punah saṃjīvatām iha	23
ity uktvā Vāsudevo 'tha tam bālam Bharatarśabha	
pādena kamalābhena Brahma-Rudrārcitena ca	
pasparśa Puṇḍarīkākṣa āpāda-tala-mastakam	24
sprṣṭa-mātras tu Kṛṣṇena sa bālo Bharatarśabha	
śanaiś-śanair mahārāja prāpadyata sa cetanām	25

5. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 154-55: Ānanda restores to Prince Kāla his feet and hands that had been cut off: upasaṃkramya Kālasya rāja-kumārasya hastapādān yathā-sthāne sthāpayitvai-vam āha| ye kecit sattvā apadā vā dvipādā vā bahupadā vā yāvan naiva saṃjñino nāsaṃjñinas Tathāgato 'rhan samyak-sambuddhas teṣām sattvānām agra ākhyātah| ye kecid dharmāḥ saṃskṛtā vā 'saṃskṛtā vā virāgo dharmas teṣām agra ākhyātah| ye kecit saṃghā vā gaṇā vā yugā vā parṣado vā Tathāgata-śrāvaka-saṃghas teṣām agra ākhyātah| anena satyena satyavākyena tava śārīram yathā-paurāṇam bhavatu| sahābhidhānāt Kālasya rāja-kumārasya śārīram yathā-paurāṇam saṃvṛttam.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 613: The Buddha sets free Ānanda from the mantras that bind him: sarah prasannam nirdoṣam praśāntam sarvato 'bhayam| itayo yatra śāmyanti bhayāni calitāni ca|| tam vai devā namasyanti sarva-siddhāś ca yoginah| etena satyavākyena svasty Ānahdaya bhikṣave|| athāyuṣmān Ānandalī patihata-caṇḍāla-mantraś caṇḍāla-gṛhāṇ niṣkramya yena svako vihāras tenopasaṃkramitum ārabdhah.

7. *Tantrākhyāyikā*, p. 20. The adulterous wife of the weaver says to him: dhig ghatosi| ko mām anāgasam virūpayitum samarthah| śrīvantu me lokapālāḥ yathāham kaumāram bhartāram muktvā nānyam parapuruṣam manasāpi vedmi tathā mamānena satyena avyaṅgam mukham astu.

It will be observed that Ānanda (in example no. 5), when performing the act of truth, utters a single spell that is very long, while Kṛṣṇa (in no. 4) makes use of five spells in performing one act of truth.

I have already cited above BURLINGAME'S observation that the act of truth is not peculiar to the Hindus or Buddhists but

has always been in use among all races of mankind. It should not therefore cause one any surprise to find that the RV contains many passages which refer to such acts. These passages are :

(1) 1, 161, 9: āpo bhūyiṣṭhā ity eko abravīd  
                     agnīr bhūyiṣṭha ity anyo abravīt|  
                     vadharyantīm bahubhyah̄ praiko abravīd  
                     ṛtā vadantaś camasān apinīṣata॥

Hymn 1, 161 is addressed to the Rbhūs, the semi-divine beings, who, having been born men, attained divinity and a share in sacrificial offerings; and like the other hymns addressed to them, this hymn too mentions the five wonderful deeds performed by them. These are—(1) the making of a chariot which is horseless, rimless, three-wheeled and traverses space (v. 3); (2) the making of two bay horses which yoke themselves to the chariot (v. 3); (3) the making of a nectar-yielding cow from a hide (v. 3, 7); (4) the rejuvenation of their parents who were old and frail (v. 3, 7); and (5) making into four the one drinking cup originally fashioned by Tvaṣṭṛ (v. 4, 9).

The last-mentioned feat is the one that is most frequently mentioned by the RV poets (see MACDONELL, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 133), and seems to have been thought the greatest. The exact manner in which the Rbhūs fashioned four cups out of one is indicated to us by the epithet *caturvayam* 'four-fold' used in connection with this feat in 1, 110, 3 and the statement, "The eldest said, 'I shall make two cups'; the younger, 'we will make three'; the youngest said, 'I shall make four' contained in 4, 33, 5. These show that the cup was first duplicated by one of the Rbhūs cutting off, on the inside or outside of the cup, a fairly thick layer so that, instead of the original cup, there were now two, one fitting inside the other, and that this process was repeated by the second Rbhū and the third. The thickness of the cup was thus thrice reduced, and there came into existence, in place of the original cup, four cups forming a nest.

The above-cited verse deals with this feat, and it presents to us the *satya-vacana* or spell of truth employed by each of the three Rbhūs in accomplishing the above feat. The spell employed by the first Rbhū was, *āpo bhūyiṣṭhāḥ*. The 'Waters

are the greatest'; and that employed by the second was *agnir-bhūyistiḥāḥ* 'Fire is the greatest'.

The spell employed by the third Ṛbhu is reproduced only indirectly by the poet in pāda c; in all probability, it was similar to the spells used by the first two Ṛbhūs and read as *vadharyanti bhūyistiḥāḥ*. The first of these two words, *vadharyanti*, is a hap. leg.; Sāyaṇa, in his RV commentary, explains it as 'bank of clouds (*megha-pāṇkti*)' or 'earth (*bhūmi*)', LUDWIG, hesitatingly as 'lightning' or 'fulgurating cloud', GRASSMANN as 'lightning' or 'bolt of lightning', HILLEBRANDT (*Lieder d. RV.*, p. 94) as 'thunderbolt-hurler (fem.)',<sup>1</sup> and Geldner (*RV. Über.*) as 'the season of thunderstorms or rain'. Now, *vadhar* denotes, as pointed out by Sāyaṇa on the authority of Nighaṇṭu, 2, 20, 'thunder-bolt'; and I agree therefore with Hillebrandt in interpreting *vadharyanti* as 'thunderbolt-hurler (fem.)'. Like *āpaḥ* and *agnih*, however, this epithet too must denote a deity. Now, the deities that are predominantly described as thunderbolt-hurlers in the RV, are (1) Indra (cf. MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 55: "The thunder-bolt, *vajra*, is the weapon exclusively appropriate to Indra. It is the regular mythological name of the lightning stroke" and the observations that follow on that page; see also p. 59), and (2) Dyaus; cf. 4, 17, 13: *vibhañjanur aśanīmān iva dyauḥ* 'like Dyaus; hurling the thunder-bolt and destroying'; 1, 176, 3: *spāśayasva yo asmadhrug divyevāśanir jahi* 'reveal him who is hostile to us, kill him like the thunder-bolt of heaven'; 1, 143, 5: *na yo varāya marutām iva svanah senevy sṛṣṭā divyā yathāśanīḥ* 'who, like the rush of the Maruts, like a missile that has been hurled, like the thunderbolt of heaven, is not to be stopped'. The name of the first-named deity, *Indra*, is always masculine, while that of the other, *dyauḥ*, is frequently used in the feminine also; see MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and the literature cited therein. It follows hence that the epithet *vadharyanti* can denote Dyaus only and not Indra.

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1. In spite of the feminine gender, however, HILLEBRANDT (*Ved. Myth.* 3, p. 141) seems to interpret *vadharyanti* as Indra.

I therefore translate the verse as: "One said, 'The Waters are the greatest'; another said, 'Agni is the greatest'; another declared the sky (Dyaus) to surpass many. Speaking truths, did ye cut the drinking cups".

In pāda c, we have to supply, after *pra*, a word like *rīricānā* (see GRASSMANN's observations s. v. *pra*). The expression *bahubhyah pra* is thus obviously a periphrasis for *bhūyiṣṭhā* which seems to refer here to size (*parimāṇa*), or alternatively, to power or might. Concerning the greatness of the Waters, compare 8, 3, 10: *yēnā samudram asṛjo mahir apas tad indra  
vṛṣṇi te śavah| sadyah so asya mahimā na sannāśe yam kṣonīr  
anucakrade* "Great is that strength of thine, O Indra, by which thou didst send forth the great Waters towards the ocean. That greatness of his at which the worlds have cried out is not to be measured in a moment"; 8, 6, 16: *yas ta indra mahir  
apah stabhūyamāna dśayat| ni tam padyāsu śiśnathah* "Him, O Indra, who lay hemming the mighty Waters, thou didst smite in the feet" and the other verses (see GRASSMANN, s. v. *mahiḥ*) containing the expression *mahir apah*. In connection with the greatness of Agni, compare MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 38: "Agni is a divine (*asura*) monarch (*samrāj*) strong as Indra (7, 6, 1). His greatness surpasses that of mighty heaven (1, 59, 5). He is greater than heaven and earth (3, 6, 2; 10, 88, 14), than all the worlds, which he filled when born (3, 3, 10). He is superior to all the other gods in greatness (1, 68, 2)" and the other observations that follow. Regarding the greatness of Dyaus, compare 6, 21, 2: *yasya divam ati  
mahnā pṛthivyāḥ purumā�asya ririce mahitvam* "whose greatness surpassed that of Dyaus and of the earth"; 1, 59, 5: *divāś cit  
te bṛhatō jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririce mahitvam* "Thy greatness, O Agni Vaiśvānara, surpassed that of the great Dyaus even"; 1, 55, 1: *divāś cid asya varimā vi papratha indram nū  
mahnā pṛthivī canā prati* "his vastness has spread even beyond the sky; even the earth is not equal to him in greatness" and the verses (see GRASSMANN s. v. *mahi*) in which the epithet *mahi* is applied to Dyāvā-pṛthivī and Rodasī. Compare also the

following sentences in the section on *Bhūma-vidyā* in the Chāndogyopaniṣad (7, 10 ff.) : āpo vyvānnād bhūyah . . . tejo vā abhyo bhūyah . . . ākāśo vāva tejaso bhūyān, and note that the trinity of āpah, tejah and ākāśah mentioned here is almost identical with the trinity of āpah, agnih and dyauh (vadharyantī) mentioned in 1, 161, 9.

It is doubtful if the significance of the expression ḥtā vadantaḥ has been perceived by Sāyaṇa and the other interpreters. Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse reads as follows: camasa-caturdhā-karaṇa-kāle kim iti satyam vadanto vyabha-janniti tad āha| ekaḥ trayāṇām anyatamaḥ āpo bhūyiṣṭhāḥ iti abravīt| nahi udakāt praśastanī lokopakārakam tattvāntaram asti| āpo bhūyiṣṭhāḥ iti ḥtam avādīt| apām eva śreṣṭhatvam 'apa eva sasarjādau' (*Manu.* 1, 8) ity-ādi-śāstrāt| tathā anyaḥ agnir bhūyiṣṭha iti abravīt| āntaram bāhyam ca dāha-pāka-bhukta-jaraṇādi-vyāpāreṇa agner eva jagan-nirvāhakatvād agner eva bhūyiṣṭhatvam ity eva manyate| tathā vadharyantīm vadhar iti rephāntaḥ api vajra-nāma, 'vadhah, arkah' (*Nighaṇṭu* 2, 20, 7) iti tan-nāmasu pāṭhāt| tad icchatī vṛṣṭy-udakāyeti vadraryantī megha-paṇktir ucyate| yadyapiyam sva-vadhārtham vajram svayam eva nāpekṣate tathāpi vṛṣṭyartham indra-vajreṇa hanyamānatvāt tad icchatī upacaryate| yad vā bahubhyah teṣām arthāya vadraryantīm vadham ātmana icchantīm bhūmim chāndaso rephopajanaḥ| tām eva ekaḥ bahubhyah samvādibhyah śreṣṭhatamām abravīt| udakasyāpi megha-karaṇatvāt| evam ḥtā ḥtāni ukta-rūpāṇi yathārthāni vākyāni vadantaḥ parāsparam bruvantaḥ camasān apīmīṣata avayavino 'kuruta caturdhā vya-bhajata ity arthaḥ| 'piśa avayave'; 'se mucādinām' iti num| idam eva ḥtā-vadanam apekṣya ḥbhū-śabdām vyācakṣāṇo Yāskah 'ṛbhava uru bhāntīti vā ḥtena bhāntīti vā ḥtena bhavantīti vā' (*Nirukta* 11, 15) ity uktavān||

The expression *kim iti satyam vadantaḥ* and also the reference to Yāskā's derivation of the word ḥbhū seem to indicate that Sāyaṇa has understood that the quādruplication of the drinking cup is the effect of the spells of truth uttered by the ḥbhūs. On the other hand, his explanation ḥtāni ukta-rūpāṇi yathārthāni vākyāni vadantaḥ parāsparam bruvantaḥ seems to indicate otherwise; for, as becomes evident from the examples cited above, spells of truth were spoken, not to particular individuals, but to the world at large.

HILLEBRANDT (*l. c.*) translates *r̥tā vadantah* as 'keeping (your) words', GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) as 'speaking good words', and Ludwig as 'speaking truly'. Geldner (*l. c.*) translates as 'saying true words to one another' and adds the following note: "9 is the amplification of st. 1d (there *bhātim*, here *bhūyiṣṭhāḥ*). The words were spoken while they fashioned the cups. Each one of them expresses a different opinion on the question as to what has contributed most to the formation of the wood [of which the cup was made], the fire (in plants), the rain-water, or the *Vadharyanti*. This is, according to Sāyaṇa, the bank of clouds or the earth that longs for the lightning. The earth, in fact, would suit well as the third element. If one accepts the meaning 'season of storms, season of rain', one should then supply after *bahubhyah* the word *ṛtubhyah*. The ablative with *pra+brū* as with *pra+as*". It is thus the belief of these interpreters that the *R̥bhus*' utterance of the truths is an accident and is not in any way connected with their fashioning of the cups.

This opinion is, as we have seen above, erroneous; and this is shown, further, by verse 6, 47, 3 [=TS. 3, 1, 9, 2] of the AV.<sup>1</sup>: *idam tṛtiyam savanam kavīnam ṛtena ye camasam airayanta te saudhanvanās svar ānyāḥ svāśaniṣṭim no abhi vasyo nayantu*. This verse too is addressed to the *R̥bhus* and speaks of their feat in connection with the drinking cup. Pāda c of this verse is translated by WHITNEY (p. 315) as 'who rightfully (*ṛtena*) sent out the bowls', by LUDWIG (*Der RV.*, III, 429) as 'who made the goblets apart in due order'.

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1. Durga, when explaining Yāska's words, *tad etad R̥bos ca bahuvacanena camasasya ca samstavena bahūni daśalayiṣu sūktāni bhavanti* (Nirukta 11, 16), has observed, *tad yaihā: idam tṛtiyam savanam kavīnam ṛtena ye camasam airayanta*. Similarly, Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara too, when explaining the same passage, have observed, *tad etaś ārbhavāni 'kimu śreṣṭha' ityasya sat-kṛtasya samstavena-yuktāni sarvargveda-sākhāsu bahūni sūktāni vidyante; tad yathā: idam tṛtiyam savanam kavīnam ṛtena ye camasam airayanta iti*. And thus, according to these commentators, this mantra is found in all the sākhās of the *R̥gveda*. In reality, it is not found in the extant version of the *R̥gveda-samhitā*.

and by Prof. Berriedale KEITH (*Translation of the Taittirīya-samhitā*) as 'who righteously set the beaker in motion'. These renderings of *r̥tena airayanta* are all wrong. In the first place, none of the fifteen *RV* verses that refer to this feat of the *R̥bus* contains any verb signifying 'to send out'; the verbs used in them are, *kṛ* (10 times; see 1, 20, 6; 110, 3; 161, 2; 4, 33, 5. 6; 35, 2.3.4. 5; 36, 4), *nind* (twice; see 1, 161, 1.5) *mā* 'to measure' (once; see 1, 110, 5) and *piś* 'to cut' (twice; see 1, 161, 9; 3, 60, 2). Now, the verb *īr*, even by itself, and uncompounded with *vi*, has the sense of 'to cut'; compare 10, 122, 2: *gh̥tanirñig brahmaṇe gātum eraya* 'cut a way for the prayer, O thou that art clothed in ghee'; 2, 17, 1: *viśvā yad gotrā sahasā parīvṛtā made somasya dṛ̥mhitāny airyat* 'when he, in the intoxication of Soma-juice, cut open in a moment all the solid mountains (and set free) what had been confined'; and hence there is no doubt that it has that sense in this verse also. Secondly, *r̥tena* too signifies 'by truth', that is, 'by the spell of truth' (compare the analogous use of its equivalent, *satyena*, in the passages cited above from the Mahābhārata, Divyāvadāna and Rāmāyaṇa). The meaning of AV. 6, 47, 3 is thus: "This third libation (is) for the poets who cut out the drinking cup by means of a truth(-spell); let those (*R̥bus*), sons of Sudhanvan who have attained heaven, conduct our well-made offering unto what is better". The epithet *kavi* in pāda a is apposite and refers to the ability of the *R̥bus* in composing mantras or spells of truth. The epithet *svār ānaśnāḥ* in c refers to the *R̥bus'* attainment of immortality (*amṛtatvam*; cp. 1, 110, 4). As pointed out by Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara in his commentary (on TS 3, 1, 9, 2: *ye r̥tena satyena camasam̄ camasān jātāv ekavacanam̄ preritavantah kṛtavanta ity arthah*), *camasam̄* in pāda b stands really for plural *camasān*. Compare also Sāyaṇa's explanation *camasam̄ soma-bhakṣaṇa-patram ekam airayanta prairayanta caturdhā vibhāgena caturaś camasān akurvan.*

(2) 4, 35, 5-6: jyeṣṭhā āha camasā dvā kareti  
                   kaniyān trin kṛṇavāmet yāha|  
                   kaniṣṭha āha caturas kareti  
                   tvaṣṭa ṛbhavas tat panayad vāco vah||

satyam ūcūr nāra evā hi cakrūr  
 anu svadhām ṛbhavo jagmūr etām|  
 vibhrājamānāṁś camasān ahevā-  
 venat tvaṣṭā caturo dadṛśvān ||

These verses too are addressed to the *R̄bhus* and speak of their quadruplication of the drinking cup. Their meaning is: "The eldest said, 'I shall make two cups'; the younger said, 'Let us make three'; the youngest said, 'I shall make four'. O ye *R̄bhus*, *Tvaṣṭr* assented to this word (*i.e.*, proposition) of yours. The men uttered (spells of) truth. They did as they had said; the *R̄bhus* followed up their suggestion. Seeing the four drinking cups, resplendent like days, *Tvaṣṭr* conceded (that the *R̄bhus* had carried out their word and quadruplicated the drinking cup)".

The meaning of *panayat* in verse 5 and of *avenat* in verse 6 is not clear. Sāyaṇa explains both words as *aṅgīcakāra*, and seems to understand *panayat* as 'praised the offer of the *R̄bhus* as being very fair and accepted it' and *avenat* as 'conceded that they had carried out their word', the offer being that, in case they quadruplicated the cup, they should become immortal. GELDNER (*op. cit.*) and LUDWIG understand *panayat* as 'praised' and BERGAIGNE (III, 55) as 'approved', while *avenat* has been understood by these scholars as 'was astonished', 'was pleased', and 'was charmed' respectively. On the other hand, PISCHEL has contended (*Ved. St.*, 1, 201) that *panayat* signifies 'laid a bet; made a wager' and *avenat*, 'became angry', while GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) understands them as 'was astonished' and 'became envious' respectively.

With *satyam ūcūh* in 6a should be compared *ṛtā vadantah* in 1, 161, 9d explained above, and *ṛtena* in AV. 6, 47, 3 likewise explained above.

The above passage and 1, 161,<sup>9</sup> supplement each other in the following respect: 4, 33, 4-5, while stating fully what the purpose of each *R̄bhu* was in performing the act of truth, does not reproduce the wording of the spells of truth (*satya-vacana*) employed by them; 1, 161, 9, on the other hand, does not state the purpose of each *R̄bhu*, but gives the wording of the spells used by them.

The only other mantra known to me (besides 10, 35, 8 and 10, 37, 2 explained below) that reproduces the wording of a spell of truth is AV. 4, 18, 1: *samam jyotiḥ sūryenāhnā rātri samāvatī kṛṇomi satyam ūtaye 'rasāḥ santu kṛtvarīḥ'* ‘Light is coeval with the sun; night is equal to the day’. ‘For protection do I perform (this act of) truth; may the makers (fem.) [of witchcraft] become impotent’. Pādas a<sup>b</sup> contain the spell(s) of truth pronounced by the agent with the twofold object of making witchcraft impotent and of protecting himself against it. Regarding the use of the verb *kṛ* in *satyam kṛṇomi*, compare the Pāli term *sacca-kiriyā*, and the expression *sacca-kiriyām kṛ* that is used in *Milindapañha* 119 ff., and *Jātakas* 20, 35, 444 and 540 (see also *JRAS.* 1917, pp. 437 ff., 445, 446, 447 and 448 where a translation is given of these passages).

Sāyaṇa's explanation of the verse is as follows: *sūryena ādityena tadiyam jyotiḥ prabhā-maṇḍalam samam samānam eva bhavati na kadācit tena viyujyate* rātri ‘rātreś cājasau’ iti nīp| rātriś ca ahnā samāvatī samānāyāmā | sama-śabdāt āvatu-pratyayaḥ svārthikah| yathaivam prabhā-prabhāvator divā-rātriyoś ca samānatvam yathārtham tatha satyam yathārtham karma kṛṇomi karomī| kimartham| ūtaye abhicaryamāṇasya puruṣasya rakṣāṇārtham| tasmāt kṛtvarīḥ kartana-śilāḥ kṛtyāḥ arasāḥ śuṣkāḥ kāryāsamarthāḥ santu bhavantu; and it seems therefore as if he has rightly understood the meaning of the expression *satyam kṛṇomi*.

(3) 4, 36, 4: *ekam vi cakra camasam caturvayam  
niś carmaṇo gām arinīta dhītibhiḥ|  
athā deveś amṛtatvam ānaśa  
śruṣṭī vājā ṛbhavas tad va ukthyam||*

This verse too is addressed to the *R̥bhus*. I translate: “By means of spells did ye make the one drinking cup fourfold, did ye make the cow come out from the hide. Thus did ye, through obedience, attain immortality among the gods; it, O ye Vājas, ye R̥bhus, is worthy of praise”.

*Dhītibhiḥ* in pāda b and also in 1, 161, 7a has been interpreted as ‘with wisdom; with skill’ by GRASSMANN (*RV.Ueber.*), ‘with inventive power’ by LUDWIG and by GELDNER (*op. cit.*) and as ‘with skill’ by HILLEBRANDT (*op. cit.*). These interpre-

tations are wrong, and the word has, in both pādas, the usual meaning of *mantra* or spell. In this verse, *dhītibhiḥ* is to be construed with *vicakra* also in a. We have already seen above that the mantras used by the *Rbhūṣ* for quadruplicating the drinking cup were spells of truth. We learn therefore from this verse that the *Rbhūṣ* employed spells of truth in the making of the cow also.

*Sṛuṣṭi* in d refers to the tasks which were laid on the *Rbhūṣ* by the gods. It was required of the *Rbhūṣ* that they should (1) quadruplicate the drinking cup, (2) make a horse, (3) make a cow, (4) make a chariot, and (5) rejuvenate their parents; and, on accomplishing these tasks, they were to become immortal and entitled to a share of the sacrificial offerings. See 1, 161, 2-4.

(4) 1, 161, 7: nīś carmaṇo gām arinīta dhītibhir  
 yā jarantā yuvaśā tā 'krṇotana|  
 saudhanvanā aśvād aśvam atakṣata  
 yuktvā ratham upa devān ayātana ||

This verse also is addressed to the *Rbhūṣ*. The meaning is: "By means of spells, ye made the cow come out of the hide, made youthful the two (parents) who were old; ye fashioned a horse from a horse, O ye sons of Sudhanvan; yoking the chariot, ye went to the gods".

*Dhītibhiḥ* in a is to be construed with *akṛṇotana* in b, and *atakṣata* in c also. We have seen above that the *Rbhūṣ* used spells of truth (1) for quadruplicating the drinking cup, and (2) for making the cow come out of the hide. We learn from this verse that they used such spells for rejuvenating their parents and for fashioning the horse also.

It is suggested by BERGAIGNE (II, 410, n. 2) that the expression *aśvād aśvam atakṣata* in pāda b signifies, "ye made one horse after another; i.e., ye made two horses".

The *ratha* mentioned in pāda d, it is thought, (see, for instance, GELDNER, *op. cit.*) is the chariot which the *Rbhūṣ* themselves mounted in order to go up to heaven. It is possible however to regard the expression *upa devān ayātana* as being merely figurative (and equivalent to *devatvam ānaśa*); and one

is strongly tempted to interpret *yuktvā* *ratham* as 'having put together the chariot', i.e., 'having made the chariot'. As we know, the making of the chariot was included in the tasks imposed upon the *R̥bus*. In this case, *dhītibhih* would have to be construed with *yuktvā* also; and we would learn from this verse that the *R̥bus* made the chariot also by means of spells of truth.

(5) 1, 20, 2-5: ya īndrāya vacoyujā tatakṣur manasā harī |  
 śamībhir yajñam āśata ||  
 takṣan nāsatyābhyaṁ parijmānam sukhām  
 rātham |  
 takṣan dhenūm sabardughām ||  
 yuvānā pitarā punah satyamantrājūyavaḥ |  
 ṛbhavo viṣṭy akrata ||  
 sam vo madāso agmatendrena ca marutvatā |  
 ādityebhiś ca rājabhiḥ ||

"Who, by means of a spell, fashioned for Indra two bay  
orses that yoke themselves at the word (of their master),  
(they) attained (to a share in) the sacrifice by means of their  
works.

"(They) fashioned for the Nāsatyas a chariot with a comfortable seat that goes everywhere; they fashioned a cow that yields nectar.

"The righteous *Rbhus*, by means of spells of truth, made their parents again youthful as (part of) the task that had to be performed by them.

"For you, accompanied by Indra attended by the Maruts and by the kingly Ādityas, did the Soma juices flow."

These verses too are addressed to the *Rbhus* and speak of the tasks performed by them. The four verses, so far as the sense is concerned, form but one sentence, as has already been pointed out by Skandasvāmin in his commentary; and the word *ye* of v. 2 has to be construed with the verbs of vv. 3, 4 also. Similarly, the word *manasā* of v. 2 has to be construed with *taksan* in 3a and 3c; and since we know that the *manas*

(= *nantra*, spell) used by the *Rbhūs* in connection with the making of the horse and the cow is a spell of truth, it follows that a similar spell was used by the *Rbhūs* when making the chariot also.

*Viṣṭi*<sup>1</sup> in 4c and *śamībhīḥ* in 2c refer to the five tasks imposed by the gods on the *Rbhus*. Of these tasks, four are mentioned in vv. 2-4 (the fifth task is mentioned in v. 6); and it is stated in v. 5 that, (in consequence of the *Rbhus* having performed them) the Soma streams flowed for the *Rbhus*, Indra attended by the Maruts and the Ādityas. The reference here is to the third *savana* or Soma-pressing and to the libations offered to these gods in that *savana*.

The epithet *rjuyavah* 'righteous' in 4b refers, perhaps, to the honourable performance by the *Rbhūs* of the tasks undertaken by them.

*Satyamantrāḥ*=*satyavacanāḥ* as explained by Skanda-svāmin; that is, ‘who employ spells of truth’. Verse 4 thus states in explicit terms that the *R̥bhus* rejuvenated their parents by means of spells of truth. As we have seen above, it is by this means that they performed their other tasks also. The *R̥bhus* are thus, pre-eminently, employers of *rta* or spells of truth; and there can be no doubt that Yāska had this fact in mind when he derived the word *r̥bhu* from *r̥tena bhānti* or *r̥tena bhavanti*.

(6) 4, 33, 10: ye harī medhayokthā madanta  
 indrāya cakruḥ suyujā ye aśvā |  
 te rāyas poṣam̄ dravīṇāny asme  
 dhatta rbhavah kṣemayanto na mitram ||

This verse too is addressed to the *Rbhūs*, the feat spoken of in it being the making of two bay horses. Pāda 4 speaks of the *Rbhūs* ‘revelling in mantras’ i.e., ‘speaking mantras loudly’ when they made the horses; and these mantras were, as we have seen above, spells of truth. I translate therefore:

"They who, speaking spells (of truth) loudly, made for Indra by their cleverness the two bay horses that yoke themselves, may they grant us increase of riches and wealth, like those establishing a friend."

*suyuj*=*svayuj* 'self-yoking'; see VVSt. 1, 40 f.

(7) 4, 35, 4: kiṁmayah svic camasa eṣa āsa  
                   yam kāvyena cature vicakra  
                   athā sunudhvam savanam madāya  
                   pāta ḥbhavo madhunah somyasya ||

"Of what substance was that drinking cup made that ye, by means of your poem, made fourfold? Press now the liquid offering for cheer. Drink, O ye R̄bhus, of the sweet drink made from the Soma plant."

This stanza too is addressed to the R̄bhus, and speaks of their quadruplication of the drinking cup. *kāvyena* 'by the poem', in b, refers of course to the spell of truth employed by them in performing this feat. Compare in this connection the epithet *kavi* that is applied to them in AV. 6, 47, 3 explained above and in 4, 36, 7: *dhirāso hi śṭhā kavayo vipaścitaḥ*.

Pāda c, *athā sunudhvam savanam madāya*, seems to be incongruous as an address to the R̄bhus; on the other hand, it is an appropriate exhortation to the sacrificial priests. Hence, *sunudhvam* is interpreted in a passive sense, as 'let them be pressed for you', by OLDENBERG (*RV. Noten*, 1, 297) while GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) also suggests that the reference is perhaps to the R̄bhus' pressing of the Soma juice 'in order to consecrate the four cups' newly cut by them for the use of the gods. It seems to me, however, simpler to regard c as an exhortation addressed to the sacrificial priests themselves.

(8) 4, 36, 2: ratham ye cakruḥ suvṛtam sucetaso  
                   'vihvarantam manasas pari dhyayā|  
                   tān ū nv asya savanasya pītaya  
                   ā vo vājā ḥbhavo vedayāmasi||

"The clever ones who, by thinking of a spell, made an easy-rolling chariot of unimpeded course, you, O ye Vājas, ye R̄bhus, do we now invite to drink of this Soma libation".

This verse too is addressed to the R̄bhus and refers to the chariot made by them. *manasas pari dhyayā=mantrasya dhyānenā* 'by thinking of the spell', i.e., 'by uttering the spell'. This spell is, as we have seen above, a spell of truth.

The chariot made by the R̄bhus was taken over by the Aśvins for their own use (cp. 1, 161, 6: *indro hari yuyuje aśvinā ratham bṛhaspatir viśvarūpam upājata*, ‘Indra yoked the two bay horses and the Aśvins, the chariot; Bṛhaspati drove off the all-coloured cow’; 10, 39, 12: *ā tena yātāṇi manaso javiyasā ratham yan vām ṛbhavaś cakrur aśvinā* ‘come, O ye Aśvins, with the chariot, swifter than thought, which the R̄bhus made for you’; and it is interesting to note that the epithet *ṛtajāḥ* is applied to it in 3, 58, 8: *aśvinā pari vām iṣaḥ purūcīr īyur gīrbhir yatamānā amṛdhrāḥ ratho ha vām ṛtajā adrijūtaḥ pari dyāvāprthivī yāti sadyaḥ* ‘Food of many kinds, beneficent, has reached you, O ye Aśvins, from all sides, competing with hymns of praise. Your chariot that is produced from truth, being impelled by the pressing-stones, traverses heaven and earth in a moment’. The word *ṛtajāḥ* in this verse has been rendered variously as ‘born from time’ (GELDNER, *RV. Ueber.*), ‘produced by divine ordinance’ (LUDWIG), ‘holy’ (GRASSMANN, *RV. Uber.*), and ‘producer of water; or, appearing in the sacrifice’ (SĀYĀNA: *ṛtasya udakasya janayitā, rte yajñe prādurbhavatīti vā*): these are all palpably unsatisfactory, and the real meaning of the word is, as given above, ‘born from (a spell of) truth’. The chariot is called *ṛtajāḥ* because the R̄bhus made it by means of a *ṛta* or spell of truth.

The word *avihvarantam* in b has a passive sense and is equivalent to *avihruta-gati* or *apratihata-gati* ‘whose course is not impeded anywhere (in earth, air or water)’. It is thus synonymous with the epithet *parijmā* ‘going on all sides, i. e., in all directions; going everywhere’<sup>1</sup> that is applied to the chariot of the Aśvins in 10, 39, 1: *yo vām parijmā suvṛd aśvinā rathah* (note the juxtaposition of *parijmā* and *suvṛt* here), in 1, 20, 3 explained above, in 4, 45, 1 and 10, 41, 1. Compare

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1. Such chariots are known to classical Sanskrit literature also; compare, for instance, Raghuvaṇśa 5, 27: *Vasiṣṭha-mantrokṣanaja-prabhāvād udanvad-ākāśa-mahīdhareṣu marut-sakhasyeva valāhakasya gatir vijagħne na hi tad-rathasya* and the explanation *daśasu dīksu apratihato ratho yasya (saḥ Daśarathaḥ)* that is usually given of the name *Daśaratha*.

also the description of the Asvins' chariot contained in 3, 58, 8 (explained above) : *ratho ha vām.....pari dyāvāprthivi yāti sadyah*; 1, 180, 1: *ratho yad vām pary arnāmsi dīyat*; 4, 45, 7: *rathah.....yena sadyah pari rajāmsi yāthah*; 1, 180, 10: *ariṣṭanemim pari dyām iyānam*; 7, 69, 1: *ā vām ratho rodasī badbadhānah* 7, 69, 2: *sa paprathano abhi pañca bhūma* and 7 69, 3: *vi vām ratho...antān divo bādhate vartanibhyām*.

(9) 3, 60, 2: *yābhiś śacībhiś camasāñ apimśata  
yayā dhiyā gām ariṇīta carmaṇah||  
yena harī manasā nirataksata  
tena devatvam ṛbhavaḥ sam ānaśa||*

"Because ye, by means of spells, cut out the drinking cups, because ye, by means of a spell, made the cow come out from the hide, because ye fashioned the two bay horses by means of a spell, ye have therefore, O Rbhus, attained to godhead".

This verse too is addressed to the Rbhus and speaks of their attainment of godhead because, by means of spells, they performed the feats mentioned. *śacī* in a=*dhiḥ* in b=*manah* in c; compare Nighantu 1, 11 which mentions *śacī* among the synonyms of *vāc*.

(10) 4, 35, 5: *śacyākarta pitārā yuvānā  
śacyākarta camasāñ devapānam ||  
śacyā harī dhanutarāv atas-  
ṭendravāhāv ṛbhavo vājaratnāḥ||*

"By means of a spell, did ye make young your parents; by means of a spell, did ye make the drinking cup of the gods; by means of a spell, O Rbhus that possess the best of wealth, did ye make the two bay horses that are the best runners and carry Indra".

This verse too is addressed to the Rbhus; *śacī=mantra=spell of truth.*

We have finished with the verses that are concerned with the feats of the Rbhus; and we shall now consider some verses that are concerned with the Aṅgirases and their feats.

The Aṅgirases are a class of semi-divine beings who are sometimes described by the RV poets as ‘sons of heaven’, ‘sons of gods’ (see Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 142). More often, they are described as *pitarah* ‘fathers’, *nah pitarah* ‘our fathers’, or *nah pūrve pitarah* ‘our ancient fathers’. The principal feat mentioned in connection with them is the piercing of Vala and the freeing of the imprisoned cows. In addition, it is sometimes mentioned that they dispelled the darkness, won the Dawns, won the light, caused the sun to mount the sky, spread out the earth, etc. These feats are attributed to Indra also who is twice called *aṅgirastama* or ‘chief Aṅgiras’, to Indra accompanied by the Aṅgirases, to Bṛhaspati to whom too the epithet *aṅgirastama* is applied, or to Bṛhaspati accompanied by the Aṅgirases; and it hence becomes clear that in the opinion of the ṛsis, the feats were, in fact, performed by the Aṅgirases, Indra and Bṛhaspati conjointly.

It has already been pointed out by GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*, note on 4, 1, 13) that the word *rta* occurs prominently in the stanzas that refer to this myth in connection with the Aṅgirases. We shall see below that the same word *rta* or its equivalents occur prominently in similar circumstances in connection with Indra and Bṛhaspati also.

The following pair of stanzas is addressed to Indra; but there is a reference in the first stanza to the Aṅgirases and their rending of Vala:

(11) 10, 138, 1-2: tava tyā indra sakhyeṣu vahnaya  
                     ṛtāṇi manvānā vy adardirur valam||  
                     yatrā daśasyann uṣaso riṇann apaḥ||  
                     kutsāya manmann ahyāś ca dāṁsayah||  
                     avāśṛjah prasvah śvañcayo girin  
                     ud āja usrā apibo madhu priyam||  
                     avardhayo vanino asya dāṁsasā  
                     śuśoca sūrya ṛtajātayā girā||

“In thy companionship, O Indra, those priests, thinking of a truth (-spell), rent Vala; at which time, they gave the Dawns and let the Waters run. Thou didst also punish the *ahīs* at the prayer of Kutsa.

"Thou didst let loose the mothers, humble the mountains, drive out the cows, drink the pleasant sweet Soma, and become strong through the magical power of that tree (i.e., Soma). The sun shone by virtue of the spell born of truth".

The expression *r̄tam manvānāḥ* in verse 1, pāda b, is synonymous with the expression *manasas pari dhyayā* in 4, 36, 2 explained above and signifies 'uttering a spell of truth' (see GRASSMANN, s. v. *man* 16). Compare the analogous use of the word in 1, 62, 1: *pra manmahe śavasānāya śūṣam āṅgūṣam girvanase āṅgirasvat* "We utter, like the Āṅgirases, an invigorating hymn for the strong one who is fond of hymns"; 5, 13, 2: *agnēḥ stōmam manāmahe sidhram adyā divispr̄śah* 'we utter a successful song of praise for Agni who has reached up to heaven'; 7, 82, 10: *dewasya ślokam savitūr manāmahe* 'we utter a spell in praise of god Savitri'.

The words *tye vahnayaḥ* in pāda a refer, as pointed out by Sāyaṇa, to the Āṅgirases, and it is said in pādas a,b,c that they by means of a spell of truth, pierced Vala, caused the Dawns to appear and released the Waters that had been shut up in Vala.

The meaning of *ahyāḥ* and *damsayaḥ* in pāda d is obscure, and the translation given above is based on the meaning given by GRASSMANN in his *Woerterbuch*. LUDWIG too translates pāda d as 'dasz Kutsa's man gedenke und [zugleich] als zuchtiger des Ahi' and thus seems to approve Grassmann's explanation of the root *dams* as 'to punish'; Sāyaṇa on the other hand explains *tadāñīm ahyo 'her vṛtrasya ca damsayaḥ karmāni vitathāny āsann ity arthah*.

The second verse too speaks of the same deeds, namely, of the letting loose of the rivers and the rending of the mountains, and, in addition, of the driving out of the cows and the setting up of the sun in heaven; the first two deeds however are here attributed to Indra, and so is the third.

*Prasvāḥ* 'mothers', in pāda a, denotes the waters or the rivers; see GRASSMANN, s. v. *mātr* 14 and *mātrtamā*. *Śvañcayah* 'didst humble', in pāda b, signifies 'didst vanquish and rend'. *vanināḥ*, in c, refers to Soma who is often described as *vanaspati* (for references, see GRASSMANN, s. v.). Compare also

3, 40, 7: *abhi dyumnāni vanīna īndram sacante akṣitāḥ pītvī somasya vāvṛdhe.* “The inexhaustible splendours of Soma go to Indra. After drinking Soma, he became strong”, and note the use of *vaninah* in this stanza also to denote Soma.<sup>1</sup> In d, the ‘spell born of truth’ refers, apparently, to the spell of truth uttered by the Aṅgirases; compare the words *ya ṛtena sūryam ārohayan divi* in 10, 62, 3 explained below. Or, does it, by any chance, refer to a spell of truth uttered by Indra? See the observations under 6, 39, 2 explained below.

Pādas c, d have been explained by Sāyaṇa as follows: *tathā vanino vana-sambaddhān vṛkṣān| yad vā | vanam ity udaka-nāma| tad-yuktān samudrān| avardhayāḥ vṛṣṭi-pradānena vardhayasi| rta-jātayā| rtam yajñāḥ tadarthaṁ jātam janma| yasyās tayā girā vedātmikayā vācā stūyamānas�endrasya daṃsasā karmaṇā” vṛṇvato vṛtrāder api nodanātmakena sūryāḥ śūśoca| nabhasi pradidipe| yad vā| rta-jātayā gireti sūryasyaiva viśeṣānam| trayī-rūpayā vācā pradīpya ity arthaḥ| ‘rgbhil pūrvāhne divi deva īyate’ ityādikam Taittirīyakam atrānusam-dheyam (3, 12, 9).* Similarly, GRASSMANN too translates these pādas as, “Und liesst die Baeume wachsen durch des Methes Kraft; die Sonn’ erglaenzt durch das fromm erzeugte Lied”, and LUDWIG as, ‘du verliebst gedeihen durch dises baumes wunder, er brannte die sonne durch das der weltordnung entsprechende lied’. BERGAIGNE interprets *rtajātā gīḥ* as ‘the hymn born in order, that is, conforming to the law’ (III, 245; see also II, 188 and 290).

(12) 10, 62, 2-3: *ya udājan pitaro gomayam vasv  
ṛtenābhindan parivatsare valam|  
dirghāyutvam aṅgiraso vo astu  
prati grbhñita mānavāṁ sumedhasah||  
ya ṛtena sūryam ārohayan divy  
aprathayan pṛthivīm mātarām vi*

1. GELDNER, in his *RV. Ueber.*, renders *vaninah* as ‘wooden vessel’, but in the note explains it alternatively as ‘of Soma, who sits in the wood’ (9, 107, 18)

suprajāstvām āngiraso vo astu  
prati gr̄bhñita mānavam̄ sumedhasah||

“The fathers who, by means of (a spell of) truth drove out the wealth consisting of cows, and pierced Vala at the end of the year, to you, O Āngirases, may there be long life. Receive, O ye sagacious ones, the son of Manu.

“Who, by means of (a spell of) truth, made the sun mount the sky and spread wide mother earth, to you, O Āngirases, may there be good progeny. Receive, O ye sagacious ones, the son of Manu”.

(13) 7, 76, 4: ta id devānām sadhamāda āsann  
ṛtavānah kavayah pūrvyāsaḥ|  
gūlham̄ jyotiḥ pitāro ānv avindant  
satyamantrā ajanayann uṣāsam||

“Those ancient fathers, poets and followers of the law, were indeed boon companions of the gods; by means of spells of truth they discovered the hidden light and engendered the Dawns”.

The ‘fathers’ are the Āngirases; and the ‘hidden light’ discovered by them is the sun. *gūlham̄ jyotiḥ anvarindan* here has the same signification as *suryam̄ ārohayān divi* in 10, 62, 3 explained above; and similarly, *uṣāsam ajanayan* signifies the same as *uṣaso daśasyan* in 10, 138, 1 explained above. *satya-mantrāḥ* has the force of an instrumental (= *satya-mantraiḥ*), and is equivalent to *satya-vacanāḥ* as in 1, 20, 4 explained above.

(14) 4, 3, 11-12: ṛtenādrīm vyāsan bhidantah  
sam āngiraso navanta gobhiḥ|  
śunām̄ narah pari śadann uṣāsam  
āviḥ svar abhavaj jāte agnau||  
ṛtena devīr amṛtā amṛktā  
arṇobhir āpo madhumadbhir agne  
vājī na sargeṣu prastubhānah  
pra sadam it sravitave dadhanyuh||

"By means of a (spell of) truth did they pierce the mountain and hurled it far; the Aṅgirases roared with the cows. Pleasingly (i.e., with pleasing results, well) did the men worship the Dawn; light appeared when Agni was born. "By means of a (spell of) truth, O Agni, did the divine, immortal, uninjuring (i.e., beneficent) Waters flow (i.e., were impelled to flow) for ever with sweetness-bearing torrents, (as swiftly) as a race-horse that is encouraged by words in races".

Hymn 4, 3 is addressed to Agni which explains the presence of the vocative *agnē* in pāda c of verse 12. *Narah*, in pāda c of verse 11 refers to the Aṅgirases; and Agni himself is addressed as *aṅgiras* in v. 15 of this hymn.

Pāda c of verse 11 refers to the Aṅgirases making the Dawns appear, and pāda d, to their giving light to the world. *Agnau*, in d, refers, without doubt, to the celestial fire, that is, the sun (see in this connection BERGAIGNE, I, 22 and MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 93); and the pāda thus speaks of the Aṅgirases causing the sun to be born in the sky. Verse 12 refers to the Aṅgirases' release of the Waters shut up in the mountain cave (Vala).

The statement (in pāda b of verse 11) that 'the Aṅgirases roared with the cows' is somewhat cryptic. It signifies (1) that the Aṅgirases released the cows that had been imprisoned in the mountain, and (2) that the sound made by the Aṅgirases when uttering the spell of truth was loud and was blent with that made by the imprisoned herd of cows. This, of course, is a natural consequence of the Aṅgirases being many in number; and it explains why this sound is called *rava* 'roar, shout' in 1, 71, 2 and other verses.

Compare with this pāda 1, 62, 3: *bṛhaspatir bhinād adrim  
vidād gāḥ sam usriyābhīr vāvaśanta narah* and 5, 45, 8: *saṁ  
yad gobhir aṅgiraso navanta*; and in connection with pāda a compare 6, 17, 5: *mahām adrim pari gā indra santam nutthā  
acyutam sadasah pari svāt* 'Thou, O Indra, didst remove from its place the big unshakable mountain which was encompassing (i.e., imprisoning) the cows'.

I look upon *amṛktāḥ* in verse 12 as being active in meaning, and signifying 'uninjuring'; regarding the form *dadhanyuh*, see Oldenberg's observation in SBE. 46, p. 330.

(15) 4, 1, 13-17: *asmākam atra pitaro manusyā  
 abhi pra sedur ṛtam āśuṣāñāḥ |  
 aśmaṃvrajāḥ sudughā vavre antar  
 ud usrā ājann uṣaso huvānāḥ||  
 te marmṛjata dadṛvāmso adrim  
 tad eṣām anye abhito vi vocan|  
 paśvayantrāso abhi kāram arcan  
 vidanta jyotiś cakrpanta dhībhīḥ||  
 te gavyatā manasā dṛḍhram ubdhām  
 gā yemānāṇi pari ṣantam adrim|  
 dṝlhaṇi naro vacasā daiyena  
 vrajam gomantam uśijo vi vavruḥ||  
 te manvata prathamām nāma dhenos  
 tris sapta mātūḥ paramāṇi vindan|  
 taj jānatir abhy ānūṣata vrā  
 āvir bhuvad aruṇīr yaśasā goḥ||  
 neśat tamo dudhitam rocata dyaur  
 ud devyā uṣaso bhānur arta|  
 a sūryo bṛhatas tiṣṭhad ajrāñ  
 ṛju marteṣu vṛjinā ca pāṣyan||*

This passage too refers to the Aṅgirases and to their rending of the mountain and freeing of the imprisoned cows. *rta*, therefore signifies in this connection, a '(spell of) truth' as we have seen above.

The expression *ṛtam āśuṣāñāḥ* has been interpreted variously as *ṛtam yajñām āśuṣāñāḥ aśnuvānāḥ santah* (*Sāyaṇa*), 'aspiring after *rta*' (OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, p. 309), 'stimulating one another in right belief' (GELDNER, *RV Ueber.*), 'accelerating the sacrifice' (LUDWIG), 'kindling the holy one' (GRASSMANN, *RV. Ueber.*), and 'hastening to accomplish the law' (BERGAIGNE, I, 133).

The last five interpretations are based, without doubt, on the meanings 'adspirare, sich zu naehern suchen, erstreben, zu vollbringen suchen' assigned to *āśuṣāñāḥ* by BOEHTLINGK and ROTH in the PW and on the meanings 'schnauen bei

angestrengter Arbeit, *anfachen*, in *Taetigkeit setzen, anregen, erregen*' assigned to that word by GRASSMANN in his *Wörterbuch*. But it should be noted that the root, *śvas-śuṣ* has elsewhere only the meanings 'schnaufen, schnauben', etc., (i.e., 'to snuffle, to snort', etc.) according to these lexicographers, and that the above meanings are assigned to *āśuṣāñāḥ* by them in connection with *rta* only. This is quite unjustified, and there does not seem to be any reason why the root *śvas-śuṣ* should be given here a meaning different from what it has in the majority of the RV passages. As will be shown in the article that follows, *śvas-śuṣ* signifies 'to make a loud sound' in these passages; and I accordingly interpret *r̥tam āśuṣāñāḥ* as 'speaking a (spell of) truth loudly'.

The word *abhi praseduh* in v. 13b is a hap. leg., and has been explained as 'sat down' by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 308), GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*), LUDWIG, BERGAIGNE (I. 133), and GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*), and as *agnim abhilakṣya prajagmuḥ* by Sāyaṇa. Considering that the word *marmṛjata* is used of the Āṅgirases in the very next verse (pāda a), I have no hesitation in believing that it means *praseduh*, i.e., *prasan-nātmāno babbūvuh* 'composed their minds'. *marmṛjata*, signifies, of course, 'became pure', *śucayo babbūvuh*.

Compare in this connection the following observations made by BURLINGAME on pp. 432-3, l. c.: "The Act of Truth, although frequently a humdrum charm, and usually very simple, is always a formal act. Sometimes, especially in the Buddhist and Jain records, it takes on the character of a quasi-sacramental rite, and is performed with scrupulous attention to preliminary details and accompanying ceremonies. For example, a woman, about to transform herself into a man, invokes the deities as witnesses. A tiny quail, before conjuring a forest fire to turn back, *engages in solemn meditation* on the Buddhas and their acquired powers. A king and queen, intending to cross rivers on dry foot, *meditate* on the virtues of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order. A queen, intending to cross a river on dry foot, goes to the bank of the river with her retinue in ceremonial attire, and, first invoking the goddess of the river, with hands both joined, and *with a pure heart*, pronounces the magic words. . . . A woman, about to undergo the ordeal of passing between the legs of a yakṣa, before making her Act of Truth, bathes, puts on fresh garments, and

offers incense and flowers to the yakṣa. A skipper, before making an Act of Truth to avoid shipwreck, orders his fellow-mariners to bathe him in perfumed water, clothe him in new garments, prepare him a full bowl, and place him in the bow of the ship. He performs his Act standing in the bow of the ship, and holding the bowl in both his hands". Compare also the following passage at the beginning of the Āśvalāyana-ṝgvyasūtra-pariṣiṣṭa: *kartā snāto dhautānārdra-vāsā yajñopavīty ācāntah prānmukha āśino daksināṅga-kārī samāhitō mantrānte karma kurvita . . . karmāṇonta ācamanām ceti sāmānyam* enjoining that the *kartṛ*, before beginning the performance of the rites known as *rddhi* and *pūrta* (i.e., sacramental and similar rites), should first bathe, put on washed dry clothes, wear *yajñopavita*, sip water and be of composed mind. Similarly Āśvalāyana has said (see p. 166 of the Mysore edition of Nṛsiṁha's *Prayogapārijāta*): *ācamya cātmanah śuddhim kṛtvā karma samārabhet| anādeśe svayam kartā sabhyā ṛtvik-purohitāḥ*; and Nṛsiṁha too writes at the beginning of the *Prayogapārijāta* (book of ritual for Āśvalāyana Brahmans) in the section on *Svasti-vācana-prayoga*: *atha yajamānah kṛtābhyaṅgādi kriyah sv-alamkṛto darbha-pāṇis śucir bhūtvā*.

The word *abhi praseduḥ* in v. 13 b expresses the same idea as the word *samāhitah* in the Gṛhya-pariṣiṣṭa passage given above, and *marmajata* in v. 14 a, the same idea as the expressions *snāto dhautānārdra-vāsā yajñopavīty ācāntah*, *ācamya cātmanah śuddhim kṛtvā* and *śucir bhūtvā* in the above-cited passages.

I therefore translate the passage as follows:

"Here our human fathers composed their minds; uttering a (spell of) truth loudly, they drove out the cows, good yielders of milk, that had been penned up in the mountain, in the cave, (and) the Dawns, calling (them).

"Being about to rend the mountain, they purified themselves. Others around proclaimed it. Having freed the cattle, they sang triumphantly; they won the light (after) they chanted spells.

"With mind set on cows, those men, the Uśijs, opened with divine words the fast-holding closed mountain, which encompassed and confined the cows, the solid stable full of cows.

"They uttered first the name of the milch-cow; they found the thrice-seven highest (names) of the mother. Responding to it, the females cried out. The bright one appeared with the glory of the cow.

"The raging darkness disappeared; the sky became lucent; there arose the splendour of the goddess Dawn; the sun (rose and) overlooked the wide plains, observing the straight and crooked (doings) among the mortals".

In v. 13, *pāda d* can also signify 'drove out the cows calling the Dawns'; and this is, in fact, the interpretation adopted by Sāyaṇa, OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 309) and GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*). Compare however 10, 68, 7: *bṛhaspatir amata hi tyad āśām nāma svarinām sadane guhāyat* | *āñḍeva bhitvā śakunasya garbhām ud usriyāḥ parvatasya tīmanājat* which deals with the same myth, and which says that Bṛhaspati uttered the names of the lowing cows in the cave and drove them out of the mountain; compare also v. 15 below.

In v. 14, we do not know who the persons are that are referred to in *pāda b* as 'others around' (*yeśām anye abhitāḥ*). In c, I have followed Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) in interpreting *paśvayantrāsaḥ* as 'having freed the cattle'. *yantram*=*yantranām*, 'confinement, restraint', and *ayantram*=freedom; I regard *paśvayantrāsaḥ* as a *vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi* (*paśūnām ayantram* *yaiḥ*) signifying 'those by whom the cattle have been freed'. Compare the expression *gā yemānam adrim* in v. 15 b. GELDNER however regards (*op. cit.*) *paśvayantrāsaḥ* as a compound of *ayantrāḥ* *paśavāḥ* (*yeśām*) with *pūrva-nipata* of the latter word; and he interprets the expression as 'when their herd was freed from confinement'. For other explanations of this hap. leg., see OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, p. 313 f. and *RV. Noten*, I, 263.

Regarding v. 16 ab, compare GELDNER'S note in *op. cit.*: 'It is known from the ritual that the cows had individual names by which they were called; cp. VS. 8, 43; RV. 10, 169, 2; Śat. Br. 1, 7, 1, 7; and Sāyaṇa's commentary on TS, Vol. I, p. 72, 4'. See also Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse. The 'mother' in b seems to be, not the Dawn, but the cow; see

Geldner's note on p. 374 op. cit. and compare 7, 87, 4: *triḥ sapta nāmāghnyā bibharti* 'the cow has thrice seven names'. *taj janatih*, in c, means 'recognising it' that is, 'responding to it'. Regarding *vr̥d*, I am inclined to agree with PISCHEL (*Ved. St.*, 2, 121 ff.) that it signifies 'female'. Nearly allied to this interpretation is that of BERGAIGNE, 'woman; in particular, woman in rut, amorous woman' (*Quarante hymnes*, p. 14) and of GELDNER, 'alluring female' (*op. cit.*, note on 1, 121, 2). In d, *yaśo goḥ* is believed to refer to the milk of the cow; see GELDNER'S note in *op. cit.*, p. 374; OLDENBERG'S translation in SBE. 46, p. 309 and note on p. 314. Perhaps, however, the genitive suffix in *goḥ* denotes *abheda*; *gor yaśasyā* would then mean *gavabhinnena yaśasā*, 'with the glory of cows', that is, 'with cows'.

*dudhitam*, in v. 17 a, is derived from the root *dudh* which is enumerated in the Nighaṇṭu among the *krudhyati-karmāṇah* (2, 12). *dudhitam tamah* thus signifies 'raging darkness', that is, 'darkness that rages through the world, uncontrolled', or 'unyielding darkness' (GELDNER, *RV. Ueber.*).

The 'spells', *dhiyah* mentioned in v. 14 d, and the 'divine word' (*vaco daivyam*) of v. 15 c seem to be identical with the *rta* ('spell of truth') of v. 13 b.

(16) 4, 2, 14-16: adhā ha yad vayam agne tvāyā  
 padbhīr hastebhiś cakrmā tanūbhīḥ|  
 rathāṁ na kranto apasā bhurijor  
 ṛtam yemuh sudhya āśuṣāñāḥ||  
 adhā mātūr uṣasāḥ sapta viprā  
 jāyemahi prathamā vedhaso nṛn|  
 divas putrā aṅgirasobhave-  
 mādrīm rujema dhaninām śucantah||  
 adhā yathā nah pitarah parāsaḥ  
 pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāñāḥ||  
 śucid ayan dīdhitum ukthaśāsaḥ  
 kṣamā bhindanto aruṇīr apa vran||

“Whatever, O Agni, we have done for thee with thoughts, hands, bodies, (may it find favour with thee). Like those that, making a chariot with labour, guide it between the shafts, the sagacious ones have, uttering the (spell of) truth loudly, broadcast it.

“May we be born from mother Dawn, as the seven bards, the first worshippers among men. May we become Aṅgirases, sons of Heaven. May we, effulgent, rend the mountain containing wealth,

“speaking loudly the (spell of) truth, O Agni, like our ancient remote fathers. They attained, indeed, to pure thoughts; chanting spells, (and) cleaving the earth, they disclosed the bright ones”.

Hymn 4, 2 is addressed by Vāmadeva to Agni; and in the above passage, the ṛṣi prays to Agni that he (and his companions?) may, like the Aṅgirases of old, become bards, utter spells of truth, and rend the mountains imprisoning cows.

In verse 14, pādas ab contain a relative clause with the first person plural *vayam* as subject, pāda c consists of a simile, while d contains a sentence with the third person plural *yemuh* as finite verb. It is the opinion of PISCHEL (*Ved. St.* 1, 240), GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) and LUDWIG (IV, 310) that the persons denoted by *vayam* in a and *sudhyah* in d are identical, and that the third person plural *yemuh* represents the first person plural *yemima*. Sāyaṇa interprets *yat* in a as *yasmat* and thus gets over the difficulty caused by *yemuh*, while GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) translates the verse as it stands without offering any solution of the difficulty. OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 318) supplies the words ‘in those deeds of ours’ after the relative clause and thus makes one sentence of the four pādas.

When explaining this verse in VVSt. 1, 283, I had followed PISCHEL, GELDNER and LUDWIG and regarded *yemuh* as standing for *yemima*, because, at that time, I believed with them that *rtam*, in pāda d, signified ‘law, order’. As pointed out above however, *rtam*, in the expression *rtam āśuṣāñāḥ* signifies ‘spell of truth’ in 4, 1, 13. It is hardly likely that it can have another signification in the same expression in 4, 2, 14; and I am therefore disposed to believe that, as in 3, 14, 7: *tubhyam dakṣa kavikrato yāñīmā deva martāso adhvare ukarma*  
*tevan viśvasya surathasya bodhi sarvam tad agne amṛta svadeha*

(addressed to Agni), pādas ab of 4, 2, 14 also contain an incomplete sentence; and that the apodosis is lacking in both cases. In both these verses, we have to understand after the relative clause the words *taj juṣasva* (cp. 1, 75, 1: *juṣasva saprathastamam vāco devapsarastamam*; 4, 9, 7: *asmākam joṣy adhvaram asmākam yajñam aṅgirah*), *taj juṣṭam astu* (cp. 1, 73, 10: *etā te agna ucathāni vedho juṣṭāni santu manase hrde ca*), *tac cikiddhi* (cp. 4, 4, 11: *tvam no asya vacasas cikiddhi*; 5, 22, 4: *agne cikiddhy asyā na idam vacah sahasya*) or other similar words.

Pāda c, *ratham na kranto apasā bhurijoh*, is to be construed with pāda d, and not with pādas ab; for not only is the verb *yam* appropriate in connection with the object *ratham* (cp. 1, 119, 5: *yuvor aśvinā vāpuṣe yuvāyujam ratham vāṇi yematur asya śardhyam*; 5, 73, 3: *īrmānyad vāpuṣe vāpuś cakram rathasya yemathuh*; 1, 30, 19: *ny aghnyasya mūrdhani cakram rathasya yemathuh*) and with the object *ṛtam* (cp. 4, 3, 9: *rtena ṛtam niyatam īla ā goḥ*; 4, 23, 10: *ṛtam yemāna ṛtam id vanoti*), but the making of a spell is also frequently compared by the RV poets with the making of a chariot. See in this connection 1, 94, 1: *imam stomam arhate jātavedase ratham iva sam mahemā maniṣayā* “Using our intelligence, we have put together this song of praise for the worshipful Jātavedas as (carpenters put together) a chariot”; 1, 130, 6: *imām te vācam vasūyanta āyavō ratham na dhīrah svapā atakṣiṣuh* “Desiring wealth, the Āyus have fashioned this spell for thee, as a skilled artisan does a chariot”; 4, 16, 20: *eved īndrāya vṛṣabhāya vṛṣne brahmākarma bhṛgavo na ratham* “Thus have we made a spell for the strong excellent Indra, as Bhṛgus make a chariot”; 5, 73, 10: *imā brahmāṇi vārdhanā śvibhyām santu śāntamā yā takṣāma rathān iva* “May these spells that we have fashioned as (carpenters do) chariots, invigorate the two Aśvins and be most acceptable to them”; 10, 39, 14: *etam vām stomam aśvināv akarmātakṣāma bhṛgavo na ratham* “This song of praise have we made for you, O Aśvins,

fashioned as Bhrgus do a chariot". Compare also 1, 61, 4: *asmā id u stōmam sām hinomi rātham na tāsteva* "I send forth this song of praise to him, as a carpenter does a chariot", in which the sending forth of the hymn is compared to the sending forth of a chariot.

*Padbhīḥ*, in pāda a, signifies 'with (our) minds'; see VVSt. 1, 262 ff. Regarding *bhurijoh*, I follow PISCHEL (*op. cit.*, p. 239 ff.) in interpreting it as 'between the two shafts'. In c, *rātham* is to be construed with both *krantah* and [*yacchanti*], and similarly, *rītam* with both *āśusāñāḥ* and *yemuh*.

The 'seven bards' (*sapta vīprah*) or priests mentioned in verse 15a are identical with the seven seers (*sapta ṛṣayah*) mentioned in 4, 42, 8 and other verses; see Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 144, and GELDNER *RV. Ueber.* p. 306. They are mentioned, along with the Navagvas, in 6, 22, 2, as praising Indra, and, in all probability, formed part, like these latter, of the large group of priests known as Aṅgirases; compare the words *divas putrā aṅgiraso bhavema* in pāda c. *nṛn*, in pāda b, is equivalent to *nṛnām* (see OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, p. 322) or *nṛṣu*. The wealth (*dhana*) spoken of in d in connection with the mountain (*adri*) is, without doubt, the cows imprisoned in it; compare the expression *gomayām vāsu* in 10, 62, 2 explained above.

In v. 16, the relative clause in pādas a b is regarded by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 322) as an incomplete sentence, the apodosis of which is lacking; and the words 'thus may we do the same' are supplied by him after it. GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) translates the verse as, "Und wie unsere ehemaligen Väter, die sich von alters zur Wahrheit aneiferten, O Agni, so mögen (jetzt) die in Liedern Redenden zu klarer (Erleuchtung), zur Erkenntnis kommen. Den Boden spaltend sollen sie die rötlichen (Uśas') aufdecken", and thus regards the verbs *ayan* and *apavran* as equivalent to *yantu* and *apavṛṇvantu*. All this is very unsatisfactory, and one gets over the difficulty if one regards these pādas as a continuation of the sentence *adrim rujema dhaninām śucantah* contained in pāda d of the preceding verse. The 'ancient remote fathers', are, of course, the Aṅgirases.

*śucit* (Padapāṭha: *śuci it*), in c, is, in all probability (see SBE. 46, p. 322), a contraction of *śucim it*; and the pāda *śucid ayan didhitim ukthaśasah* seems to have the same signification as the pāda *abhi pra sedur rtam āśuṣāñah* in 4, 1, 13 explained above. In pāda d, one expects *adrim* instead of *kṣama*; see GELDNER's note in op. cit., p. 377. The 'bright ones' referred to in this pāda are either the cows, or the Dawns, or perhaps both.

(17) 6, 39, 2-4: ayam uśānah pary adrim usrā  
 ṛtadhītibhir ṛtayug yujānah |  
 rujād arugṇām vi valasya sānum  
 panīñr vacobhir abhi yodhad indrah ||  
 ayam dyotayad adyuto vyaktūn  
 doṣā vastōh śarada indur indra |  
 imam ketum adadhur nū cid ahnām  
 śucijanmana uśasā cakāra ||  
 ayam rocayad aruco rucāno  
 'yam vāsayad vy ṛtena pūrvih |  
 ayam iyata ṛtayugbhir aśvaiḥ  
 svarvidā nābhinā carṣaniprāḥ ||

"Desiring the cows near the (i.e., encompassed by the) mountain, this Indra, yoker of (the spell of) truth, accompanied by those whose spells were truths, rent the unbroken back of Vala, and fought the Pañis with spells.

"This Indu, O Indra, illumined the dark nights, in the evening and at dawn, for years. They have made him the herald of days. He made the Dawns be born in brightness.

"This (Indra), shining, made the unshining ones shine; by means of a (spell of) truth, he has caused many (Dawns) to dawn. He goes with horses that yoke themselves by means of *rta*, protecting the people with the navel that wins the light".

Hymn 6, 39 is addressed to Indra who, as observed above, is praised as *aṅgirastama* or 'chief Aṅgiras' by some poets. Verse 2 of the above passage refers to his rending of Vala and freeing of the imprisoned cows by means of a spell of truth

(*r̥tayuj*), and with the aid of the Aṅgirases, while v. 4 says that he made the unshining Dawns shine, set free the imprisoned Dawns, by means of a spell of truth (*r̥tēna*).

In verse 2, *r̥tadhitibhiḥ* in pāda b refers to the Aṅgirases; compare Sāyaṇa's explanation *r̥tadhitibhiḥ satya-karmabhir aṅgirobhiḥ*. The word *r̥tadhitī* is the exact equivalent of the word *satyamantra* which is used in connection with the Aṅgirases in 7, 76, 4 explained above. *r̥tayuj* = yoker of truth; i.e., employer of spells of truth; these spells are referred to as *vacobhiḥ* in pāda d. Compare in connection with it 1, 62, 4: *sa suṣṭubhā sa stubhā sapta vipraih svarenādriṁ svaryo nava-gvaiḥ / saranyubhiḥ phaligam indra śakra valam ravena darayo daśagvaiḥ*". He, with the well-praising lauding (throng), the seven bards and the Navagvas, cleft the mountain (containing the) cows with a shout. "Thou, O mighty Indra, hast, with the Saranyus and the Daśagavas, cleft the cave of crystal with a roar". The words *svara* and *rava* refer to the sound produced by the utterance of spells by the Aṅgirases and their companions (Indra, Bṛhaspati, etc.).

*(To be continued.)*

## THE MESSAGE OF THE GĪTĀ.\* (PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION)

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THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ is the most popular Hindu scripture, and its importance is second to none in the history of Hindu philosophical thought. If anything, its popularity is on the increase. It has been translated into almost all modern languages. We have prose as well as poetic versions of the translations. The greatest saint-politician of our land, Mahatma Gandhi, regards the Gītā as the "*Universal Mother*." He clings to it as his guide through the temptations and travails of life. He goes on to assert that a true votary of the Gītā does not know what disappointment is. He concludes his estimate of the Gītā thus: "I can declare that the Gītā is ever presenting me with fresh lessons, and, if somebody tells me that it is my delusion, my reply to him would be that I should hug this delusion as my richest treasure."

It is a chapter from the Bhīṣma parva of the Mahābhārata, whose study has enraptured and ennobled the minds of men and women. Though the Gītā is a smṛti, *i.e.*, secondary scriptural authority, all the schools of Vedānta have treated it as one of the triple texts that support their respective schools. With that spirit in view they have all commented on it and refuted the commentaries of rival schools. The social reformer and the reactionary alike have claimed the Gītā as their support.

What exactly is this popularity due to? It is due to a number of causes, the foremost among them being that the Gītā view of life is within the reach of one and all of us. It shoves the metaphysical details into the background and throws into relief the philosophy of action and the need for it. What is in the focus, is its practical teaching. Throughout it breathes a spirit of

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\*The substance of a lecture delivered to the Madras Samskr̥ta Academy on the Gītā Day celebration, 9th January 1941.

toleration and does not rule out any type of spiritual faith. Kṛṣṇa says "whoever with true devotion worships any deity, in Him I deepen that devotion, and through it he fulfils his desire." "Those that devotedly worship other gods, they also worship me though only imperfectly". The author of the Gītā does not insist upon totalitarian loyalties, but believes that men attain their best in different ways. The toleration of the Gītā is not a mere stroke policy, it is an article of faith with Hinduism. Neither is its toleration due to a form of indifferentism. The author of the Gītā has no patience with men who have no faith. He stresses *Sraddhā* more than the performance of scripture-ordained duties.

As Prof. Hiriyanna observes, the fascinating figures, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, the occasion that calls forth the teaching, its simple and charming style, and the dialogue form, all go to make the Gītā a popular scripture. "The selecting of the specific situation and the concrete mode of treatment is the cause of the universal appeal of the scripture." It states very clearly the code and course of conduct that lead men on to right living. The author of the Gītā has no patience with the men who merely believe in a world that is governed by action and reaction. He denounces the men who profess that "this world is all that we see, and all that is". The talk of the impenitent rationalist is characterised as "*puṣpitāṁ vācamā*," men who reel out florid texts. These fools declare, in the words of the Lord, "There is nothing else but this". Kṛṣṇa castigates the Mīmāṁsakas who believe in the letter of the Veda and the round of rituals and characterises them as "miserable ones." In the sixteenth chapter there is an elaborate account of the views of the men of no faith. Men of no faith are characterised as Asuras. They say "that the world is false and is without a moral basis and without a God, what is there that does not spring from mutual union? Lust is the cause of all." "Holding such views these souls commit cruel deeds, come forth as enemies for the destruction of the world. They give themselves up to insatiable desires, full of hypocrisy, pride and arrogance; they hold false views through delusion and act with impure resolves". The author of the Gītā is against the literalist section as well as the materialists. The indiscriminate life of self-indulgence sanctioned by the hedonist has been severely criticised. The Gītā stands for a careful cultivation of tastes

and a culculated indulgence of passions. "No god must be cheated, none overpaid". It is never in favour of self-mortification. It stood for the golden mean with steadfast faith in God. The *Gītā* never advocated the thwarting of instincts, but stood for their training. A harmonious integration of the various impulses of life is the call of the scripture.

The *Gītā* view of life can be defined as a revolutionary type of idealism, which estranges the revolutionary by its idealism, and the conservative by a drastic revaluation of the earthly goods.<sup>1</sup> Terms like *Yajña* (sacrifice), *Karma* (action), *Jñāna* (knowledge), *Samnyāsa* (renunciation), etc., are interpreted afresh by the *Gītā*. *Yajña* in the *Gītā* does not mean animal sacrifice, nor the sacrifice of merely material objects but all activities prompted by a spirit of sacrifice. *Karma* does not mean mere mechanical action done for the achievement of some objects herein or hereafter, but action performed without the desire of the fruit. The *Jñāna* of the *Gītā* is not merely intellectually mediated knowledge that does not result in spiritual realisation, but is that immediate knowledge which is *Brahman* itself. The *Samnyāsa* of the *Gītā* is not the giving up of the activities as such and retiring from society. It is the giving up of the desire for the fruits and the sense of egoity in respect of any action performed by us. It is *phala samnyāsa* and not *karma samnyāsa*.

It is the insistence of the performance of one's own duty prescribed by his station,—"My station and my duty"—that is the fundamental message of the *Gītā*. In short, the central message of the scripture is *Karma yoga*, a life of disinterested activity. The entire *Gītā* is a description of that *Karma yoga*. What is it like and what is it not? B.G. Tilak has named the message of the *Gītā* as the Philosophy of Energism, i.e., of action.

In the history of Hindu thought two paths to perfection are recorded. They are respectively called the *nivṛtti mārga* and the *pravṛtti mārga*. The ideal of *nivṛtti mārga* advocated the giving up of all karma and the withdrawing from the work-a-day world. This is the negative ideal of renunciation. According to Śrī Śaṅkara the *Gītā* teaching has for its final

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1. Cf Author's article on *The Religion of the Gītā*, Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 2.

purport renunciation. Mokṣa can be realised only by Jñāna, and not by any other method, 'nānyah panthāḥ'. So the path of action at best can produce only further bondage, and bondage has the tendency to envelop the soul. Further, Mokṣa according to Śaṅkara is not something to be produced, it is there. So at best *Karma* or the path of active life can lead to ātma śuddhi, cleansing of the heart and not directly to Mokṣa. There are no two direct paths to Mokṣa. The *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti mārgas* are not discontinuous, one leads us on to the other. Further Śaṅkara explains the emphasis of the Gītā on Karma in the light of Arjuna's eligibility for it. Arjuna needs the cleansing of the Ātman, he is an unenlightened soul and as such he is only fit for Karma yoga. Wherever the Gītā speaks of *Karma yoga* in extravagant terms it has to be understood in terms of the response to Arjuna's needs. It is in this light that all the verses in the Gītā that speak high of *karma* are interpreted by Śaṅkara. He makes the path of works subservient to the path of renunciation.<sup>1</sup>

It has to be pointed out here that a growing section of Advaitins believe that there is no need to contrast jñāna, bhakti and karma, to the disadvantage of anyone of them. Short of Brahman realisation every method is within the jurisdiction of Māyā and as such there seems to be no need to stress the superiority of jñāna over karma and bhakti. Even Brahman knowledge is not Brahman. Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastry in his address as the President of the Section of Philosophy and Religion at the All India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, observes<sup>2</sup> "that spiritual realisation may come through spiritual analysis or through the melting of the heart in devotion or through self-surrender in service. This is not an innovation due to Western impact . . . All this because of an ancient prejudice against emotions and will. The melting of the heart in love is not less noble than the expansion of it in wisdom and the transcendence of the gulf between seen and seen in knowledge. The unity appears in and breaks through the multiplicity, every moment in emotion and volition no less than in

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1. For a detailed account of the Gītā on the lines laid down by Śaṅkara refer to Dr. T.M.P. Mahadevan's article on the *Two-fold Path in the Gītā*, Philosophical Quarterly, January, 1941.

2. *An Advaitin's plea for continuity*, Journal of the Madras University.

intellection. One of these is not more sacrosanct than others. And the Philosophy of Non-dualism should look for integrative synthesis rather than intellectual dominance."

With acute insight, massive erudition and rare persuasive skill, Tilak, in the *Gitā Rahasya* makes out the case for the Philosophy of Action with great success and gives us a brilliant account of the *Pravṛtti mārga*. Taking the texts by and large one gets the impression that the *Gitā* insists on the performance of action with a devout frame of mind. The texts that speak of renunciation as the method to attain Mokṣa are very few. They are: "He whose mind is unattached everywhere who is self-subdued, and from whom desire has fled he attains by renunciation to the supreme transcending all works" (XVIII-48). "Knowledge as a sacrifice is superior to all material sacrifices, O Arjuna. For all works with no exception culminate in knowledge" (IV-33). "As the fire which is kindled reduces all fuel to ashes, O Arjuna, so does the fire of knowledge reduce all works to ashes" (IV-37). There are other texts that point out that the released soul has no duties '*tasya kāryam na vidyate*' (III-17)." Excepting for these few texts the rest of the *Gitā* is an exaltation of the philosophy of action.

The philosophy of action or karma yoga is not very easy to understand. "What is work and what is no work—even the wise are perplexed here", says the *Gitā*. What exactly is this karma yoga of the *Gitā*? It combines the excellences of the *pravṛtti* and the *nivṛtti mārgas*.<sup>1</sup> It insists on the discharge of the social obligations arising out of the station one occupies in life. It insists that we have to recognise a charter of duties before we claim our bill of rights. It insists on the performance of duties at all costs, and never countenances dereliction from action. It is against the non-performance of action. The *Gitā* says "No man can ever be free from a life of action by merely avoiding active work; and no man can ever reach perfection through mere renunciation." For no man can sit still even for a moment, but does some work. Every one is driven to act, in spite of himself, by the impulses of nature" (III-4 and 5). "It is indeed impossible for any embodied being to abstain from work absolutely (XVIII-11). Thus after making out a case for the impossibility of inaction he goes on

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1, Prof. Hiriyanna's *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* p. 126-129.

to describe the mental frame with which we have to act. Act we must, and there is no choice from action. *We are asked to, act with a frame of mind that has no utilisation motive. We are exhorted to renounce the fruit of activity together with the sense of egoity.* Act with no sense of agency or attachments to the fruit of action. It is not action that is binding but the sense of attachment to the fruits of the action and the sense of egoity. Every one of our activities must be construed as an offering at the feet of God. The Karma yoga of the Gita discovers the golden mean between the two ideals of *pravrtti* and *nivrtti* preserving the excellences of both. While it does not abandon activity, it preserves the spirit of renunciation, "Work alone art thou entitled to, and, not to its fruit. So never work for fruit, nor yet desist from work" (II, 47). "Know that what they call renunciation is the same as yoga, O Arjuna, for no one who has not renounced his desires can ever become a yogin (VI, 2). The Karma yoga of the Gita does include the element of renunciation. "But renunciation of any duty that ought to be done is not right. The abandonment of it through ignorance is declared to be of the nature of dullness" (XVIII-7). "Works of sacrifice, gifts and penance should not be given up, but should be performed. For sacrifice, gifts and penance purify the mind", these are works that should be done is my decided and final view, says Krsna (XVIII, 5 and 6). "But he who gives up the fruit of work is regarded as one who has renounced". The renunciation of the fruits of the action and not action as such is the pith of the Gita teaching. Such an action is tantamount to inaction. Hence the paradoxical verse in the Gita, "He who sees no work in work, and work in inaction, he is wise among men, he is a yogin, and he has accomplished all his work" (IV-18).

The Karma yoga of the Gita commends us to lead a strenuous life and yet gives no room for the play of the selfish impulses. In short, it implies that every action we do must be motivated to secure Isvara priti, and must discard the sense of egoity and the desire for the fruit of all action. The predominant note of the Gita is one of devotion to the Lord. Lord Krsna says that all action should be surrendered at his feet. "Fly to me alone for shelter with all thy soul, O Arjuna, by my grace shall thou gain supreme peace and the everlasting abode". "Fix thy mind on me, be devoted to me, prostrate

thyself before me. So shalt thou come to me. I promise this truly for thou art dear to me". "Surrendering all duties come unto me alone for shelter. Do not grieve, for I will release thee from all sins". "Surrender all thy works and fight—with thy mind in unison with the spirit and free from every desire and trace of self and all thy passions spent". After explaining at such length the doctrine of *Śaranāgati* i.e., self-surrender to God, the *Gītācārya* dogmatically lays down his final view thus: "Those who full of faith ever follow this teaching of mine and do not carp at it—they too are released from works." "But those who carp at my teaching and do not act thereon know that, that such senseless men blind to all wisdom are lost." With this frame of mind we are exhorted to act. It is this aspect of devotion and self-surrender that Śrī Rāmānuja has stressed in his commentary on the *Gītā*. The ideal Bhakta who has realised God is described in three distinct places. In the second chapter we have the first of the descriptions of the realised soul (II, v. 55-72). But we should not forget that Arjuna asked Kṛṣṇa to describe the way of life led by a man of steadfast wisdom. How does he act? How does he sit? and How does he walk? All these questions of Arjuna presuppose that the man of steadfast wisdom is not exempt from karma. The last seven verses of the twelfth chapter give us the description of the ideal Bhakta and again the 14th chapter describes in its concluding verses the nature of the God-realised soul. All these descriptions do not absolve the released soul from indulging in karma.

The *Gītā* commends this path of action and prefers it to the path of renunciation. When Arjuna asks Kṛṣṇa to tell him for certain which is the better of the two paths, renunciation of works or their self-less performance, Kṛṣṇa replies: that of the two, performance of the works is better than their renunciation (V. 2). On another occasion he says: "to work is better than desisting from work". Arjuna is thus exhorted to activity and reasoned into it. Further the author of the *Gītā* adds that even an enlightened soul must act with a view to the preservation of the world. Men like King Janaka have attained Mokṣa through the path of works. Lord Kṛṣṇa cites himself as an example of one taking to the path of action. Thus the author of the *Gītā* brought Arjuna to the path of action by asking him to take to the path of duty as the way

to salvation. Arjuna endorses the view and acts up to it. He says, "My delusion is gone, I have come to myself by thy grace. O Kṛṣṇa, I stand free from doubt, *I will act according to thy word*". He did act according to it. The Gītā inculcates in us the view that we have a right to action only and not to the fruits thereof and that success and failure are one and the same thing at bottom. "It calls upon us to dedicate ourselves body, mind and soul to pure duty and not to become mental voluptuaries at the mercy of chance desires and undisciplined impulses." The kingdom of Heaven conceived by the Gītā is not a realm of pure mystical experience unconnected with concrete human relationship. It is not an unearthly, conceptual realm, but a just and a happy social order.



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## JÑĀNĀD EVA TU KAIVALYAM

BY

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The search for release posits the permanence of what is sought; this seems inconsistent with production or attainment; what is produced or attained is finite, is perishable; release must therefore be a manifestation of the ever-existent and infinite. The manifestation is necessary because of the present obscuration, a function of māyā. On the sublation of māyā, our eternal freedom stands self-revealed. This sublation is also spoken of as destruction or annihilation. Nothing that exists can be wholly annihilated; but *vidyā* is known to annihilate *avidyā*; knowledge destroys ignorance; since the phenomenal world due to māyā is annihilated at release, māyā is equated with *avidyā*, destructible by knowledge. Since without the destruction of *avidyā* release is impossible and since *jñāna* alone can destroy *avidyā*, *jñāna* is claimed to be the sole means to release.

Certain points are worth keeping in mind. *Jñāna* in the sense of *svarūpa-jñāna*, the consciousness that is Brahman, is identical with release; it is not a means to release, being indeed the substrate of *avidyā*. What is claimed to be instrumental is *vṛtti-jñāna*, a particular cognitive psychosis intuiting the impartite and arrived at by study of the Vedānta, reflection and profound contemplation. It is a function of the internal organ. Though itself a product of nescience, it has the capacity to destroy all lower psychoses such as apprehend the finite, the relational and the diverse, and finally to annihilate itself.

What exactly does this final psychosis do to the lower *vṛttis*? It is said that the latter are destroyed. It is suggested, however, that such a view is inconsistent with the advaitin's own position as to the nature of *avidyā*, that it is a positive entity. The belief that knowledge destroys ignorance is bound up with the superstition that ignorance is just lack of knowledge; since knowledge and the lack of it cannot co-exist, the latter is believed to be destroyed by the former. If, however,

nescience is positive, how can this be destroyed, any more than anything else which is positive? True it is knowledge and nescience cannot apparently co-exist. This is, however, not an absolute position; for, apart from the co-existence of avidyā and svarūpajñāna, the advaitin himself shows the co-presence of knowledge and ignorance in such experiences as "tvad-uktam artham na jānāmi". It may be asked whether with development knowledge does not replace ignorance and in that sense destroy the latter. We suggest that it is the ignorance itself which has developed into knowledge, instead of being replaced by the latter. The process is not self-contradictory since both are āvidyaka, of the nature of indeterminable māyā. The real cannot change; nor can the unreal; but the ignorance that was and the knowledge that now is, both are anirvācya as real or unreal, *sat* or *asat*. Change is inevitable; to the extent that this change unifies instead of dividing, is more inclusive rather than less, manifests harmony rather than discord, it is a case of ignorance becoming knowledge. The *coming into being* of harmony is unintelligible in the last resort, except as a manifestation of the non-difference that is eternal. This when realised immediately (aparokṣatayā) constitutes the final psychosis (*carama vṛtti*).

The unintelligibility of the world, on the cognitive side, has been worked out in great detail by advaita disputants, under the caption dṛk-dṛśya-sambandhānupatti. Because of such anupapatti, there comes the realisation, primarily mediate (parokṣa), that *seer* and *seen* are alike super-impositions on the *sight* (consciousness). If analysis thus reveals the failure of the relational concept in the field of knowing, does it not, we ask, reveal a similar defect in the fields of conation and emotion? A bare cogniser in front of a barely external object is helpless to know; a bare agent in respect of a barely external object, is he better off in respect of the capacity to act? And a barely external situation confronting a bare subject, can it more intelligibly cause an emotion? In every case, we have to rely on the concept of relation, and it does not on analysis reveal greater capacities in some cases than in others. If it be said that men do act and feel, it may be retorted that men do also know. If the stress be laid on the analysis that reveals the cloven hoof, it must be remembered that people analyse not merely in knowing, but also in acting and even in

feeling. Men do not act unreflectingly any more than they can cognise inactively.\* The difference in analysis is one of degree, not of kind. The saintly man in action may conceivably have arrived at a mode of action which reflects non-difference, not because of a metaphysical discipline, but because of a practical discipline leading to harmony overruling discords,

\* Advaitins were not unaware of the contention that cognition is itself a mental act. In spite of this, however, they have tried to make a hard and fast distinction between cognition on the one side and both ritual activity and meditation on the other. The usual line of distinction is this: Cognition is objective and of what is; ritual activity is directed towards what is to come into being; it is also optional, depending on the will of the performer; meditation may be of what is; but it may also be of what is not, like the contemplation of the woman as a fire in the pañcāgnivid�ā. The distinction is good as far as it goes; but it is by no means absolute, being only one of degree. This is masked by the assumption that contemplation can be of the unreal, while cognition cannot be. The wholly unreal (*tuccha*) is only a limiting concept; it cannot even be spoken of, much less contemplated. An object, whether of contemplation or of cognition, is neither real nor unreal. The barren woman's son is not real; it is not unreal, if an object of contemplation, since barren women exist and also sons, while it is only the relationing that fails, as in the *anyathākhyāti* version of error; the difference between the shell-silver and the barren woman's son is that while the former is an immediate presentation, the latter is not. Contemplation may make immediate what is mediate; after imagining it for a long time one may really hold that a person *B* is the son of a woman *A* known to others as barren. Is this not a logical contradiction? Not unless you mean just the combination "barren mother"; and that is not a possible object of contemplation any more than "black white" is a possible object of cognition; the bare words, of course, could be suitable objects in either case. To the advaitin, more than to all others, the recognition of a class of untouchables should be repugnant; yet that is the class to which he has tended to relegate karma and *upāsanā*. The Indian philosophers, advaitins included, seek a purpose even for philosophic pursuits; unfortunately, however, they were not thorough-going purposivists in their psychology; had they been, they would not have sought to confine *jñāna* and karma in water-tight compartments, but would have treated them as different inter-penetrating phases of purpose, purpose itself being self-transcended in the eternal.

a dharma whose observance promises and gives no reward other than its own realisation, a mode of life radiating sweetness, imbued with love and inspired by sacrifice. Some degree of cognitive analysis we may admit even in this case; that, however, can give only the parokṣa starting-point; the discipline that ends in the immediacy of perfection, is it not imprudent to deny it, and idle to call it *jñāna*? The devotee whose heart melts with love, who asks for and takes nothing for himself, whose sole desire is to be with the Lord and one with the Lord that is Love, not lover or beloved, since reflection has convinced him in a remote way that Love alone is the perfection of which loving and being loved are imperfect appearances, is his discipline to be discarded or identified with *jñāna*? Neither course is worth while.

The truth is one; but we live in a world of truths which are but half true. The good is one; we act in a world of goods, none of which is wholly good. Love is one; we move and suffer in a world of loves, none of which transfigures the whole self. Realisation comprises two stages, the realisation of the partial and imperfect nature of what we have, and the manifestation of the perfection but for which the imperfect would neither be nor be known. The first of these stages requires reflection and analysis, which may if desired be treated as cognitive; the subsequent discipline, however, may be cognitive, conative or emotive. The service of the saint and the devotion of the bhakta are not necessarily inferior to the wisdom of the sage, if by wisdom we mean a function of the internal organ. If, however, we mean the wisdom that is caitanya, there the need to distinguish will not arise, since all three will have arrived though by slightly different paths. The emphasis on knowledge as the sole means to realisation has been due to (1) an intellectual bias, perhaps due to the fact that metaphysics was the special pursuit of sannyāsins who had finished with their duty to society, (2) a defective psychology compartmentalising cognition, conation and emotion, (3) possibly an escapist mentality engendered by conditions of life in general on the one side and an excessive ritualism on the other.

It is often asked whether sages are doing the proper thing by the world by living in retirement. One of the many assumptions underlying the question is that perfection is possible for the sage alone and that if he retires from the world, the world

will not have the benefit of his realisation. Even sages may be intelligibly exercising an occult influence over the rest of creation. That apart, they certainly serve as noble exemplars and inspirers to others on the path of jñāna; they are specially of service in this way, when they are more or less easily accessible like Bhagavān Ramaṇa or Śrī Aurobindo. Even assuming, however, that sages do not mingle with the world and live as members of it, that is no detraction from the advaita ideal of perfection, which may be attained by the saint in action as much as by the sage in wisdom. If the latter discipline requires more or less complete withdrawal from the world, the former does not; and the saint may do for his fellow-creatures what the sage may not do or do but imperfectly because of the difference in his initial equipment.

On the view that release is possible for all, and that, till the attainment thereof, the perfection of sage or saint is relative, being but the attainment of Iśvaratva, there is a special value attaching to the performance of karma by the man of wisdom; for while wisdom illuminates the wise man alone, action lightens the load and smooths the path of the ignorant as well; the perfecting of the latter is accelerated, thus bringing nearer the making absolute of the mukta's relative perfection, the Brahmi-bhāva of him who has but attained Iśvara-bhāva. Hence it is that Maṇḍana Miśra wisely advocates jñāna-karma-samuccaya, holding that the wise man's performance of karma accelerates release, just as the use of a horse accelerates one's arrival at one's destination. Much of this, however, has to remain as speculation; for we are all too human, while what we discuss is how Iśvara will act. Will He function as a great knower or a great doer or a great lover? We know only this much, that it would be the height of presumption to deny Him any or all of these roles, whether simultaneously or in succession.

## KALPAVRKṢA—KALPAVALLI.

By

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The Kalpavalli and Kalpadruma, the fabulous creeper and tree granting everything desired, are as well-known in Sanskrit as in Buddhist literature. It is a tree with such special miraculous powers that bounteously feeds and richly clothes guests arriving at its foot and seeking its hospitality, as narrated in the Dhammapadaatthakathā. In early sculpture from Bodhgaya, Bharhut and other places there are representations of trees with human hands proceeding from their boughs and offering food and drink to guests seated in their shade. They are representations of the vanadevatās or tree-spirits, the invisible godlings residing in the trees and watchful of all that goes on around in the world of whom the ceta in Mṛcchakaṭika informs Śakāra in the line पश्यन्ति मां दश दिशो वनदेवताश्च. The vanadevatā is a kindly spirit, often, according to the Jātakas, giving advice to those that may profit by it. This good nature in them accounts for their bounteous attitude.

The vanadevatās are most beautifully pictured by Kālidāsa in his Śākuntalam where they offer the choicest apparel and ornaments to their beloved benefactor Śākuntalā the sweet maiden of the hermitage, who, regular in her care for the creepers and plants was loth to remove even a tender shoot from them, though like those of her clan she was fond of adornment and floral decoration.— नादते प्रियमण्डनापि भवतो स्नेहेन या पहचम् . The wondering pupils of the sage Kaṇva recount how the trees gifted beautiful silks and jewels for the princess going to her royal home.—

क्षौमं केनचिदिद्नुपाण्डु तरुणा मङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतं  
निष्ठूतश्चरणोपयोगसुभगो लाक्षारसः केनचित् ।  
अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरत्लैरापर्वभागेत्यै-  
देत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्देदप्रतिद्वन्द्विभिः ॥



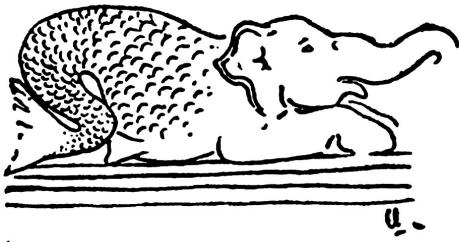
These trees of the hermitage are akin to the divine trees and creepers in Śakra's heaven and Kubera's city beyond the Himālayas. The same objects of adornment and toilet are supplied by the kalpavṛkṣa for the citizens of Alakā. All the material required for feminine adornment is supplied by the self-same wishing tree and the chief items of ornamentation and toilet are mentioned by Kālidāsa in the Uttaramegha.

वासश्चित्रं मधु नयनयोर्विभ्रमादेशदक्षं  
पुष्पोद्भेदं सह किसलयैर्भूषणानां विकल्पान् ।  
लाक्षारागं चरणकमलन्यासयोग्यं च यस्या-  
मेकः सूते सकलमबलामण्डनं कल्पवृक्षः ॥

The kalpadruma and vanadevatā concepts are so allied that it may be taken as practically one fixed into the other. The tree as described by Kālidāsa is so special to Kubera and Alakā that one would expect it associated with the temples of the lord of wealth which were well-known in the time of Patañjali—प्रासादे धनपतिरामकेशवानाम्. And at Besnagar was found the famous kalpadruma capital of the column (dhvajastambha) that stood in front of a Kubera shrine, and now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

There are both the tree and creeper carved at Bharhut. Fig. 1 shows a kalpavṛkṣa or tree in the bight of an undulating kalpalatā or creeper. Earrings, necklaces of large and small sized gems and pearls and silken garments appear amidst the foliage. In fig. 2 the kalpalatā unfolds a number of jewels. Here is a commentary on Kalidasa's line भूषणानां विकल्पान्. The variety is large. Three types of earrings, patrakuṇḍalas, ratnakuṇḍalas, karṇaveṣṭanas and sīmantamanis also known as caṭulatilakamaniś, finger rings, golden necklace and necklace composed of pearl strands with elongate central gems and a silken garment are present at the ends of the tendrils of the creeper or issue from the flowers. In fig. 3 there are silken garments one of them answering the line वासश्चित्रम् and another क्षौमं केनचिदिदनुपाण्डु तस्णा मङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतम्. There are beautiful flowers worked on the former which has also fine añcala or fringe. The latter has exquisite folds that are so lovely a feature in all silken cloths. Kālidāsa says that even wine, the trainer of the eye-brows in graceful glances, is also supplied by the kalpavṛkṣa—मधु

नयनयेविभ्रमादेशदक्षम्. Fig. 4 answers this. From the first flower of the creeper issues a śikyā or net for holding the madhubhāṅḍa or wine-pot from which in small caṣakas the sweet liquor is tasted by lovers lounging in their terraces on moonlit nights, even as the reflection of the moon trembled in the goblet —शशिप्रतिमाभरणं मधु. Anklets and gem necklaces are also among those present beside the wine-pot that issue from the flowers. Representation of flowers that are so natural in the case of trees and creepers has no special significance except that all flowers can be supplied by the self-same tree or creeper. This is answered in the diverse flowers, blooms and fruits appearing at different points on the same creeper that runs the whole length of the rail coping. Kuravaka flower bunches and leaves are specially noteworthy as the flowers that adorn the braid —चूडापात्रे नवकुरवकम्—while the leaves tinge the feet and finger nails serving the purpose of alaktaka. This must thus answer to the lines पुष्पोद्धेदं सह किसल्यैः and लाक्षारागं चरणकमलन्यासयोर्यं च यस्याम्. Fig. 5 which shows the hands of the vanadevatā or tree spirit projecting from the boughs and offering food and drink to a guest is reminiscent of the description of Kālidāsa अन्येष्यो वनदेवताकरतलैरापर्वभागोत्थैर्दत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्देदप्रतिद्वन्द्विभिः where the hands of the sylvan deity issuing from the tree clumps present the objects they hold for presentation.



## IHĀMRGAS

BY

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In early art from Bharut, Jaggayyapeta, Amaravati and other places, there are peculiar animals represented. Horses, elephants, bulls and other animals with the hind part shaped like the tail of fish with beautiful scales and fins are common themes among these sculptures. These and many others are called *ihāmrgas* or animals of fancy. The *Mahābhārata* has specifically described such animals and the lines are extremely interesting as they form the earliest literary description of themes that have been later carved on stone and perpetuated for all time. The arrows of Arjuna are described as creating various unconquerable elements to thwart the enemy among which are these fantastic animals. They are described in the following lines in the *Mahābhārata*.

शषाणं गजवक्त्राणामुलूकानं तथैव च ॥

मीनवाजिसरूपाणां III-173-50,51.

'Of fishes with the head of an elephant, owls and animals resembling both horse and fish in one'. (*See figs. 1 and 2*).

At Sanchi and Amaravati there are steeds with leonine faces. Such animals are described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The lines run

निर्यू राक्षसव्याघ्रा व्याघ्रा इव द्वूरासदाः ॥

दृकसिंहसुखैर्युक्तं खरैः कनकभूषणैः । VI-51-27, 28.

'The excellent rākṣasas unapproachable like tigers, went forth (in chariots) with jackal and lion-headed mules decorated with gold ornaments yoked (to them).' (*See fig. 3*).

DATE OF PADYARACANA OF LAKŞMANĀBHATṬĀ  
ANKOLKAR — BETWEEN A. D. 1625 AND 1650.

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

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The *Padyaracanā*<sup>1</sup> of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭā Āṅkolakara was published in 1908. Its editors state<sup>2</sup> that they have no evidence to decide the date of this author but the MSS on which their edition was based were copied on paper which may have been older than a hundred years. They also state that Lakṣmaṇa was a poet of Mahārāshtra.

Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding the *Padyaracanā*<sup>3</sup> in his catalogue of MSS:—

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1. *Kāvyamālā*, 89, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1908.
  2. “आङ्कोलकर श्रीलक्ष्मणभट्टः—आङ्कोलकरोपनामकः श्रीलक्ष्मणभट्टः कदा समुत्पन्न इति प्रमाणानुपलभ्यात् शक्यते निर्णेतुम् ; परं नायमेकस्माद्वर्धकादर्वचीन इति शक्यते वक्तुम् । यदाधरेणास्याः पद्यरचनाया मुद्रणं जातं तत्पुस्तकद्वयमपि शताद्वर्षेभ्यः प्राचीनेषु पत्रेषु लिखितमिति । कविरयं जात्या महाराष्ट्रे भवेत्”.

One of the 2 MSS used by the Editors was made available to them by the late Dr. K. B. Pathak, while the other was obtained from the collection of the late Sri Rupadatta, the Rajaguru at Jaipur. The Editors have merely noted the names of the poets whose verses have been quoted by Lakṣmaṇa in his anthology, but they have made no attempt to fix the limits of the date of the *Padyaracanā* on the strength of these names.

The *Kāvyamālā* edition of the *Padyaracanā* contains lacunae in the text of some verses on pp. 5, 12, 14, 15, 62, 63, 64, 69, 71, 73, 74, 77, 79, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 116, 117. Many of these could be filled up by using the three MSS of the *Padyaracanā* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

3. The Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute) possesses the following MSS of the work;—

(1) No. 726 of 1886-92—पद्यरचना dated Samvat-1797=A. D. 1741.

*CC I, 324—“पद्यरचना metrics, by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. B. 3. 62. Bhr. 148”*

*CC II, 72—“पद्यरचना—metrics, by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. Peters. 4. 27”*

*CC III 69—“पद्यरचना metrics, by Lakṣmaṇa Bd. 422”*

A perusal of the Kāvyamālā Edition of the *Padyaracanā* will make it clear that the work is an anthology dealing with different topics in the usual style and has nothing to do with “metrics” as wrongly described by Aufrecht, who was evidently misled by the title पद्यरचना in giving the subject of the work.

The first 5 verses of the anthology are by the author himself as they are followed by the endorsement “मगैव लक्ष्मणस्य”. In verse 1 the author salutes god Śiva (“पायान्नरो धूर्जटिः”). In verses 3 and 4 the authorship of the work is ascribed to

(Continued from the last page.)

(“संवत् १७७७ वर्ष मिती आसाढ सुदि द्वादशीतिथौ । एषा पुस्तिका लिपीकृताः ॥ श्री सर्वार्द्धैपुर नगरमध्ये ॥”)

After verse 93 of the Kāvyamālā Edition, which appears on folio 52 of this MS, we find recorded the contents of the anthology chapter by chapter. These contents are followed by the following verses :—

“तदेतैर्यापारैरियमुपचिता पञ्चदशभि-  
र्लसच्छ्रीः श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणविरचिता पद्यरचना ।  
समुद्रोतं धत्तान्निजगति शरच्चद्रचलिता  
समिदा ज्योत्स्नेव प्रथिततिथिभिः पञ्चदशभिः ॥ १ ॥  
कौमुदी कौमुदी जीव कामुकानिव कामिनी ।  
आनन्दयतु मे पद्यरचना चतुरान्नरान् ॥ २ ॥  
समाप्तेयं पद्यरचना ॥

The last 2 verses recorded above appear to be genuine though they are not to be found in the following MSS of the *Padyaracanā* which are incomplete.

(2) *No. 148 of 1882-83*—Incomplete: contains folios 33 to 74. Colophon of Chap. XIV appears on folio 70. Old in appearance.

(3) *No. 422 of 1887-91*—Very old and brittle: incomplete: about 46 folios—Colophon of Chap. XII appears on folio 44.

The MS “B. 3. 62” mentioned by Aufrecht consisted of 54 leaves and was in the possession of Acharatla Vaidya of Ahmedabad in 1872 (Vide p. 63 of Bühler Fasc. III—Gujarat MSS etc. 1872.)

लक्ष्मण ("निर्मितिर्लक्ष्मणस्य" and "कृतिः लक्ष्मणीया"). Verse 3 clearly states the purpose of the anthology, *viz.* to give repose to logicians whose minds are distressed by the accumulated heat produced by logic. Lakṣmaṇa has composed this anthology which is as it were the shade of the Kalpavṛkṣa or the desire-yielding tree.

In the body of the anthology many verses are followed by the endorsement "लक्ष्मणस्य" which appears to indicate that these verses were composed by our author. The last 2 verses of the anthology are followed by the endorsement "एतौ लक्ष्मणस्य" which leaves no doubt about their authorship.

The total number of verses in the *Padyaracanā* is as follows:—

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Verses</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Verses</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Verses</i>
I	47	VI	20	XI	40
II	39	VII	41	XII	41
III	74	VIII	43	XIII	68
IV	67	IX	58	XIV	90
V	25	X	23	XV	93
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	252		185		332

The total number of verses as specified above comes to 769, and if we add the 2 verses found at the end of MS No. 726 of 1886-92 (*Padyaracanā*) this number would be 771.

We have now to see what exact contribution Lakṣmaṇa has made to the present anthology. The following table records verses in each chapter which are followed by the endorsement "लक्ष्मणस्य" and which may, therefore, be looked upon as the composition of our author:—

*Chapter I* - 13 Verses, 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 17, 26, 29, 30, 34, 35, 42, 44.

*Chapter II* - 12 Verses, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 16, 17, 19, 27, 30, 31.

*Chapter III* - 7 Verses, 9, 33, 44, 45, 55, 56, 57,

*Chapter IV* - 14 Verses, 1, 2, 6, 7, 17, 23, 24, 32, 33, 36, 46, 50, 55, 56.

*Chapter V* - 3 Verses, 1, 2, 3.

*Chapter VI* - 3 Verses, 8, 9, 10.

*Chapter VII* - 2 Verses, 41, 25.

*Chapter VIII - 7 Verses, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.*

*Chapter IX - 4 Verses, 9, 17, 33, 43.*

*Chapter X - 4 Verses, 7, 8, 13, 18.*

*Chapter XI - 12 Verses, 7, 11, 16, 18, 19, 23, 31, 32, 33, 36, 36-a, 37.*

*Chapter XII - 12 Verses, 1, 9, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36.*

*Chapter XIII - 25 Verses, 4, 5, 6, 15, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68.*

*Chapter XIV - 26 Verses, 2, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41, 50, 51, 57, 62, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 81, 82.*

*Chapter XV - 8 Verses, 2, 28, 29, 51, 57, 70, 92, 93.*

Total 152 Verses ascribed to Laksmana.

It would be seen from the above analysis that out of the total of 769 verses of the *Padyaracana*, Laksmana claims no less than 152 verses i.e., about one fifth of the entire anthology. Evidently he wanted to shine among the learned of the past generations by incorporating his own compositions in this anthology of their verses. His purpose appears to have been served by the publication of the anthology in the *Kavyamālā Series*, which has already immortalised many poets and poetasters.

With a view to fix the earlier limit to the date of the *Padyaracana* we must record the names of authors mentioned in this anthology. These authors are as follows:—

रामचन्द्र, pp. 2, 3, 4, 10, 15, 17, 35, 40, 43, 58, 59, 62, 76, 97, 117.

भानुकर, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 47, 58, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 92, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 108, 112, 115, 116, 119.

भानुमित्र, p. 6.

माघ, pp. 3, 62, 72.

महानाटक, pp. 3, 11, 13, 15, 18, 72.

कस्यापि, (anonymous author), pp. 4, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45

47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 68, 71, 80,  
81, 84, 85, 87, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103,  
105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.

**गणपति**, pp. 5, 10, 20, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42, 46, 47,  
48, 49, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 82, 116.

**भोगिसूनु वेणीदत्त**, pp. 7, 13, 14, 16, 20.

**क्षेमेन्द्र**, pp. 7, 84.

**धरणीधर**, pp. 10, 13, 22.

**अकबरीय कालिदास**, pp. 11, 21.

**कस्यापि (हर्षदत्तस्य)**, p. 12.

**अम्बष्ट**, pp. 14, 76.

**श्रीहर्ष**, pp. 15, 19, 27, 34, 42, 59, 67.

**महाकाव्य (?)** p. 18.

**त्रिविक्रम** pp. 20, 31, 117.

**वराहमिहिर (?)** p. 23.

**गौड**, p. 23.

**कालिदास**—pp. 23, 40, 45, 49, 65, 81, 85, 115.

**व्यास**, p. 23.

**श्रीव्यास**, p. 23.

**वेणीसंहार** pp. 23, 24.

**देवेश्वर**, pp. 24, 106, 109.

**रत्नाकर**, pp. 26, 67.

**हनूमतः**, p. 28.

**गदाधर**, pp. 29, 66, 75, 83, 85, 117.

**जयदेव**, pp. 30, 40.

**बिल्हण**, pp. 33, 35, 38, 45, 64, 66.

**बिल्हणशतक**, p. 91.

**शार्ङ्गधर**, pp. 34, 57, 101.

**वैद्यनाथ**, p. 34.

**शकवृद्धेः** pp. 35, 36.

**वैद्यभानु**, p. 35.

भास, pp. 35, 78,  
 लक्ष्मीधर, p. 37,  
 शंकराचार्य, p. 38,  
 वाल्मीकीः, pp. 38, 43, 79,  
 वाहिनीपतेः, pp. 41, 63,  
 वाण्मासिकस्य, p. 41,  
 वाणीविलास, pp. 43, 58, 71,  
 मैथिल, p. 43,  
 उमापति उपाध्याय, p. 44,  
 निद्रादरिद्र, p. 45,  
 लक्ष्मणठक्कुर, p. 46,  
 दण्डनः, p. 48, 85, 110,  
 बाण, p. 48,  
 मोरिका, p. 48,  
 जघनचपला, p. 52,  
 अबिलम्ब, p. 54,  
 बाबूमिश्र, p. 54,  
 अमरुक, pp. 54, 55,  
 वामन, p. 55.  
 धूर्त, p. 57,  
 कवीन्द्र, p. 58,  
 भर्तृहरे:, pp. 59, 89, 92, 98, 102, 111, 112, 115,  
 भोजप्रबन्ध, pp. 61, 79, 94, 95, 104, 113,  
 अवन्तिवर्मन्, p. 62,  
 अचल, p. 64,  
 गुणाकर, p. 65.  
 वासुदेव, p. 67,  
 कस्यापि (हरिहरस्य), p. 68,  
 हरिहर, p. 9,  
 कयोरपि (रुद्रस्य), p. 69,  
 सर्वदास, p. 75,

रघुपति, p. 76.  
कविराज, pp. 77, 79, 117,  
पाणिनि, p. 77,  
कविकङ्कण, p. 80,  
भवभूतेः, p. 85,  
लीलावतीकार, p. 85,  
नारायण, p. 86,  
कृष्णमिश्र, p. 86,  
वररुचेः, मुरारेः—p. 87,  
मुरारेः, p. 116,  
इन्द्रकवेः, p. 87,  
सोमदेव, p. 90,  
महादेव, p. 95,  
विकटनितम्बा, p. 96,  
भोजदेव, p. 101,  
आनन्दवर्धन, p. 102.  
लक्ष्मणसेन, p. 103,  
रङ्गनाथ, p. 104,  
परिमल, p. 107,  
वासिष्ठात्, p. 112,  
सुबन्धोः, p. 114.  
राघवचैतन्यानाम्, p. 118,  
गोवर्धन, p. 118.  
त्रिलोचन, त्रिविक्रम, p. 118  
गणेश्वर, p. 118.

In the above list we find that Lakṣmaṇa mentions and quotes from an author called अकबरीय कालिदास <sup>1</sup> who was of course patronized by Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605).

1. गदाधरभट्ट in his anthology रसिकजीवन composed about A.D. 1660 quotes 2 verses of अकबरीय कालिदास, viz.,  
(1) “हस्ताभ्योजाभिमाला.....कृपाणी”  
(2) “हेमाभ्योरुपत्तने.....शैर्नैर्गच्छति”

In view of the references to अकब्रीय कालिदास found in the *Padyaracanā* we may fix A.D. 1610 or so as the earlier limit to the date of the *Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇa. The later limit to the date of this anthology may be fixed at A.D. 1710 or so in view of the dated MS of the work copied in A.D. 1741 (B.O.R. I., MS No. 726 of 1886-92).

Mr. Krishnamachariar<sup>1</sup> states that Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the commentator of the *Naiṣadha Kāvya* of Śrī Harṣa "also wrote a poem *Padyaracanā*." Let us now see if this statement is correct.

Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the commentary on the *Naiṣadha* was the son of Rāmakṛṣṇa<sup>2</sup> but the name of the father of Lakṣmaṇa the author of the *Padyaracanā* is not traceable in the *Padyaracanā*. In the same manner it is difficult to

(Continued from last page.)

(See Dr. H. D. Sharma's article on Hari Kavi-I.H.Q. X, p. 484) Lakṣmaṇa quotes 2 verses from अकब्रीयकालिदास on pp. 11 and 21, viz.,

- (1) "तुङ्ग ब्रह्मण्डसिंहासन.....यशश्कवर्ती वधेल"
- (2) "हस्ताभ्योजालिमाला.....कृपाणः"

The verse "हस्ताभ्योजालिमाला" is common to रासिकजीवन and पद्मरचना. We have, therefore, three verses ascribed to अकब्रीय-कालिदास".

1. *Classical San. Literature*, 1937, p. 183 foot-note 2.

2. Vide Stein's *Cata. of Jammu MSS*, 1894, p. 69— "नैषधी-यचरितटीका गूढार्थप्रकाशिका by लक्ष्मणभट्टशर्मा रामकृष्णभट्टसूतुः". Vide also my article on the date of this commentator in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (Vol. II pp. 309-312) where I have proved that this author flourished between A.D. 1431-1730.

Aufrecht (CCI. 536) makes the following entry regarding the author of the *Padyaracanā*;

"लक्ष्मणभट्ट—*Padyaracanā*  
—*Ratnamālā*"

R. Mitra describes a MS of रत्नमाला (p. 286 of Vol. VI of *Notices*, 1882) as a "collection of miscellaneous verses illustrating particular rhetorical maxims, with many riddles and enigmas". In this description the name of Lakṣmaṇa's father is not found. The work consists of 354 *Slokas*.

identify लक्ष्मण the author of the *Padyaracanā* with लक्ष्मण the author of a work called रत्नमाला as appears to have been done by Aufrecht (*CCI*, 536). In the *Padyaracanā* the author invokes God Siva in the first verse while in the *Ratnamālā* he bows to God Kṛṣṇa ("कृष्णं नमामि मनसा वसुदेवसूनुम्"). In the absence of any objective proofs to enable us to identify the three authors of the name लक्ष्मण<sup>1</sup> it is open to doubt if they are identical or otherwise. At any rate no *a priori* case for their identity has been forthcoming.

On p. 8 of the *Padyaracanā* the following verse is introduced as "लक्ष्मणस्य" in the manner of many other verses of लक्ष्मण the author of the anthology :—

"अथ गङ्गा—

इयं चिद्रूपापि प्रकटजलरूपापि भगवती  
यदीयाभ्योबिन्दुविर्तरति च शम्भोरपि पदम् ।  
पुनाना धुन्वाना निखिलमपि नानाविधमधं  
जगत्कृत्स्नं पायादनुदिनमपायात्सुरधुनी ॥ ४२ ॥

"लक्ष्मणस्य"

In the *Padyāmr̥tataraṅgiṇī*<sup>2</sup> of Haribhāskara composed in A.D. 1673 we find the above verse<sup>3</sup> quoted as follows :—

*Folio 18a of MS No. 314 of 1884-86.*

"इयं चिद्रूपापि प्रकटजलरूपापि भगवती  
यदीयाभ्योबिन्दुविर्तरति च शम्भोरपि पदम् ।  
पुनाना धुन्वाना निखिलमपि नानाविधमधं  
जगत्कृत्स्नं पायादनुदिनमपायात्सुरधुनी ॥ ४१ ॥

"लक्ष्मणस्य"

1. Peterson (p. 54 of *Third Report*) describes a palm-leaf MS of a work called सूक्तावली composed by लक्ष्मण ("सूक्तानां संग्रहं चक्रे लक्ष्मणो लक्ष्मणकम्—verse 1"). This MS was in the Temple of Śāntinātha, Cambay.

2. Vide my article on this anthology in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* Vol. III pp. 33-35. The exact date is 12th June 1673.

3. This verse has been quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍagāra* (N. S. Press, 1911) p. 9—verse 124.

I am inclined to presume that Haribhāskara Agnihotri who composed his anthology in A.D. 1673 and who quotes one of Lakṣmaṇa's verses about Gaṅgā apparently knew the *Padyaracanā* for which I have fixed the chronological limits, viz., "Between A.D. 1610 and 1710". If this presumption is correct we must suppose, on the strength of the identification of the two verses, that the *Padyaracanā* of our Lakṣmaṇa is earlier than A. D. 1673, the date of composition of the *Pādyāmr̥tatarangiṇī*. I am, therefore, inclined to hold the view that the date of the *Padyaracanā* must lie, say between A. D. 1625 and 1650. This view is consistent with the statement made by the editors of the *Padyaracanā* that Lakṣmaṇa Āṅkolkar<sup>1</sup> was a native of Mahārāṣṭra. It is possible to suppose that Haribhāskara, who was himself a native of Nasik in Mahārāṣṭra, knew the work of Lakṣmaṇa Āṅkolkar, another earlier author of an anthology similar to the *Padyaracanā*.




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1. Surnames ending in *Kar* current in the Mahārāṣṭra generally indicate that the native place of the holder of the surname is identical with the name of the place preceding the affix *Kar*. Lakṣmaṇa Āṅkol-Kar may have been a native of *Āṅkol*. There is a village of the name *Akol* in Chikodi Tālukā of the Belgaum District in the Bombay Presidency. I cannot say if *Ankol*=*Akol*.

## THE POETRY OF SRI MŪKA KAVI.\*

BY  
SRIMATI K. SAVITRI AMMAL.

It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that I deem it a rare privilege to stand here under the auspices of the Sanskrit Academy to-day and to address an audience distinguished alike for its learning and culture. Indeed I could never have dreamt of such an event to be possible! It is not my inherent modesty, much less the usual way of beginning a speech, that prompts me to utter these words. For, believe me, never could plain truth be so readily admitted from one's heart as it is by me now.

When the Academy asked me to speak on such an occasion as this I confess I felt too flattered to decline the invitation and in the fullness of my heart I could not pause to reflect "am I competent enough for the task?" I have no reason to suppose they could have believed me capable, in any way, of doing full justice to the subject. It is quite possible they wanted to make a departure from their usual practice of having one of their own members to speak to them and to confer the honour instead on a lady this time. I think I may look upon it as a good excuse also for the temerity with which I have proposed to speak before you to-day.

I remember, in that delightful novel "Cranford", the ladies of Cranford being independent of fashion, used to argue about it in this way "What does it signify how we dress here in Cranford where everybody knows us?" and if they were from home the reason was equally cogent. They said "What does it signify how we dress where nobody knows us?" I wish I might adopt their admirable maxim and satisfy myself with this argument, "What does it matter what I say where everybody knows about the poet Mūka? Or if it was the other way I might say with equal confidence "What does it matter what I say where nobody knows about the poet?

I have however found a convenient way of putting my mind at ease by thinking that if I am fortunate enough to say any-

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\* Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Madras Samskṛta Academy on the Śri Mūka Day.

thing worth saying about that great poet whose Day we are celebrating to-day, then, well and good; if not, I can still be sure that the audience will be indulgent enough towards one who by no means claims to know what are all the things she should say.

I am happy however in this particular which, unequipped as I am to discuss the singular merits of a poet to whom poetry came in its truest sense as the direct gift of God, nevertheless affords me the privilege of paying my modest tribute to him. What it is you can have no difficulty in conjecturing. The religious fervour I have felt for those exquisite hymns the "Mūkapañcāśati" from the earliest days I could remember is just what makes me utter a few words in much the same manner in which the poet himself begins his Stuti-śataka.

पाण्डित्यं परमेश्वरि स्तुतिविधौ नैवाश्रयन्ते गिरां  
वैरिंचान्यपि गुण्फनानि विगलद्वाराणि शर्वाणि ते ।  
स्तोतुं त्वं परिषुल्लीलनलिमश्यामाक्षि कामाक्षि मां  
वाचालीकुरुते तथापि नितरां त्वयादसेवादरः ॥

"Although the very Vedas are found to be inadequate in singing thy glory, my devotion to thy gracious feet is what makes me say a great deal."

Here I am on safe ground and find I can rather hold up my head. For unless you feel, in regard to your subject, in the way you ought to feel, you can hardly hope to do justice to it even in any slight measure.

In the first place we may congratulate the Sanskrit Academy upon the excellent idea of keeping apart this special Day this year in honour of the Poet Mūka, in the same way as they have been celebrating the Days of other classical Sanskrit poets. By doing this they seek to preserve all that is best in Sanskrit literature. In the present instance we may say with the greatest justification that here is a poet whom it behoves us to cherish not only an hour once a year but all the days in the calendar. For then indeed we shall find what a unique place he occupies in the realm of poetry and which he will continue to occupy as long as the Sanskrit language lives.

We all know that the inspired poet easily transcends time and space and stands as a symbol of immortality all by the

great quality of his poetry. He is rightly described as attaining even mokṣa, freed from all the shackles of the world. For does not the poet, if he can be truly called one, lose himself in the region of his imagination so completely as to enter immediately the presence of God and all the wonders of His Creation? No wonder the sage of Chelsea speaks of the poet as being not merely a poet but an infinite deal more. He is a great hero; he is a Prophet; he has the touch of Divinity in him. The true poet as the Mukta sees, hears and feels, not with his outward senses but with his whole being as it were and consequently, finds himself to be at one with the Universe.

The story goes about this gifted poet that he was dumb—bereft of the powers of speech and when one day by the grace of Śrī Kāmākṣī he suddenly found that he could speak, his joy knew no bounds. He was so overpowered by it that his heart opened and poured itself into a flood of praise of the Mother, dwelling on the perfection and graciousness of Her Lotus feet, Her exquisite smile and the beauty of Her divine Kātāksa. Whether the story is a true record of the poet's life or it is just one of those legends that ever weave themselves around anything that is beyond the range of the ordinary is immaterial. Suffice it to say that he had that great inner urge—the longing of the soul for merging in the Infinite, which expressed itself in these five immortal Śatakas.

The question may arise why a poet of his eminence never produced any other work than the Mūkapañcaśatī, a purely devotional poem. Could that fact stand in the way of his being recognised as a Mahākavi in Sanskrit poetry? He whose ken is far removed from earthly things and is fixed on High cannot be expected to come back to those earthly surroundings again. It is no wonder if such a man should be dead to everything else about him and if to his rapt eyes the whole universe should seem one great image of the Mother's glorious personality.

We are told that the poet Kālidāsa as he was lifted above from the abyss of ignorance by the grace of the Goddess Kālī, at once began to pour himself forth in poetry. Knowledge of things seen or unseen was no longer any hidden mystery to him. It lay before him all unfolded like the lotus flower touched by the rays of the morning sun. And yet blessed as he was by the great Goddess, Kālidāsa was evidently not so overpowered by

it—did not at any rate lose all consciousness in the contemplation of Her Divine Presence as the poet Mūka. Or he should have also sung beautiful hymns all in praise of Her! Could it not be said rather that Kālidāsa's sense of the beautiful in nature and art lying deep within his soul proved too strong a force for him to resist and he could not rest till he gave himself up to the joy of his immortal works?

Let us take up the Mūkapañcaśatī, those five hundred verses into which the author has poured his heart in one long exquisite and unbroken melody. The poem may be said to be a veritable song indeed expressive of not only the music of the Sanskrit language but all the music that there exists!

"All inmost things" to quote Carlyle again, "are melodious; naturally utter themselves in song. The meaning of song goes deep. Who is there that in logical words can express the effect music has on us? A kind of inarticulate, unfathomable speech which leads us to the edge of the Infinite and lets us for moments gaze into that!" We can see that the Mūkapañcaśatī has this divine quality of music about it.

Shall we then call it a mere devotional hymn which we can hardly treat as a subject of literary criticism? And shall we on that ground think that those qualities which go to make a Mahākāvya are lacking in it? Far from it; we discover on the other hand the poem, though simply voicing forth a spirit of ecstasy born of pure devotion, equally abounds in every variety of thought and expression quite as rich and suggestive.

Consider any verse you choose. You cannot help being thrilled by something indefinable that lies either in the thought or in the mere arrangement of the words so remarkable for sheer beauty of form and sound. It is not a nosegay of beautiful flowers merely that is offered by the poet, but one that has been gathered with the utmost care as it were and with an unerring sense for their fragrance and colour.

Listen to this verse from the Stuti-Śataka. The meaning of it is approximately this:

"To Śrī Kāmākṣī I bow, to Her with the moon on her crest, beautiful and graceful of form, smiling and with tresses, laughing the bees to scorn, who being a very creeper of Kal-paka to the poets sets ablaze the flame of love in Śiva, the destroyer of Manmatha.

चन्द्रापीडां चतुरवदनां चश्वलापाङ्गलीशां  
 कुन्दस्मेरां कुचभरनतां कुन्तलोद्भूतभृजाम् ।  
 मारारातेमदनशिखिनं मांसलं दीपयन्तीं  
 कामाक्षीं तां कविकुलगिरां कल्पवलीमुपासे ॥

Apart from the melody of the words do we not see that they convey an indescribably beautiful image to the mind. It is clear that pure Bhakti in itself more than any sense of the beauty of nature can break into the finest poetry. Poetry, they say, reaches its height when the author feels from the innermost depths of his being. Do we not perceive in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa that the poet rises to the summit of his genius only when he forgets himself completely in his adoration of the hero?

When the poet Mūka is struck with a fancy of which he is too rich from beginning to end, he pursues it to such perfection that there is scarcely anything left wanting. Nobody could wish for anything more alluring than the thought or the music of this śloka.

चित्रं चित्रं निजमृदृतया भर्त्सयन्पल्लवालीं  
 पुंसां कामान्भुवि च नियतं पूरयन्पुण्यभाजाम् ।  
 जातः शैलान् तु जलनिधेः स्वैरसंचारशीली  
 काश्चीभूषा कल्ययु शिवं कोपि चिन्तामणिर्मे ॥

"This unique Cintāmaṇi which laughs to scorn the tender leaves for softness and ever fulfils the desires of fortunate mortals, is sprung not from the ocean but from the mountain. May it bless me"!

Or, this one in which there is not merely the exuberance of fancy but keen wit and observation.

तव त्रस्तं पादात्किसलयमरण्यान्तरमगात्  
 परं रेखारूपं कमलमसुमेवाश्रितमभूत् ।  
 जितानां कामाक्षि द्वितयमपि युक्तं परिभवे  
 विदेशे वासो वा शरणगमनं वा निजरिपोः ॥

"The tender leaf not daring to vie with thy feet has fled to the wood, and the lotus as the "rekhās" has taken refuge in those very feet. Banishment or utter surrender is but meet for the enemy in defeat". Contemplating the graciousness of Her

Kaṭākṣa he is lost in wonder over this paradox that Her Kaṭākṣa while conferring without stint even as the Kalpaka-Vṛkṣa all prosperity and wealth, on those who seek Her, yet steals away all the beauty of the blue lotus and the bee and leaves them wholly poor.

कामाक्षि कल्पविटीव भवत्कटाक्षो  
दिसुः समस्तविभवं नमतां नराणाम् ।  
भृङ्गस्य नीलनलिनरय च कान्तिसंपत्  
सर्वस्वमेव हरतीति परं विचित्रम् ॥

The poet is transported again with another beautiful idea—for nothing short of that state of bliss in which the soul is completely submerged—can conjure up such a picture of the Devī in the mind. Being gazed at by the Lord Siva, Her eyes, like the lovely lotus, brighten up with the rays of Her love as if by the sun and still they close with shyness as with the advent of the night.

कामाक्षि मन्मथरिपोरवलोकनेषु  
कान्तं पयोजमिव तावकमक्षिपातम् ।  
प्रेमागमो दिवसवद्विकचीकरोति  
लजाभरो रजनिवन्मुकुलीकरोति ॥

Again, what surging emotion is expressed in these simple lines of the Āryā metre as the poet speaks of the Devī as a sovereign remedy for all the ills of the world!

शम्पालता सवर्णं संपादयितुं भवज्वरचिकित्साम् ।  
लिम्पामि मनसि किञ्चन कम्पातटरोहि सिद्धमैषउयम् ॥

The Mūkapañcaśatī seems to be a very store-house of Alaṅkāras. Each verse may be said to be an apt illustration of every one of them. The fact that the conscious use of the Alaṅkāras proves sometimes fatal to the effect of poetry does not hold good in the case of this poet. If at all, it only enhances the charm of his descriptive flight.

Who can miss the beauty of the idea underlying this śloka made doubly attractive by the Alaṅkāra, the Virodhābhāsa.

नीलोऽपि रागमधिकं जनयन्पुरोः  
लोलोऽपि भक्तिमधिकां दृढयन्नराणाम् ।

वक्रोऽपि देवि नमतां समता॑ वितन्वन्  
कामाक्षि नृत्यतु मयि त्वदपाङ्गपातः ॥

"May thy Kaṭākṣa fall upon me—that Kaṭākṣa though dark yet renders the heart of Śiva aglow with love, though ever restless it yet makes constant the devotion of mortals. It does not proceed straight, but engenders perfect evenness and equanimity in the minds of thy devotees."

Kālidāsa delineates Pārvatī in his Kumārasambhava much in the same vein. He remarks

पुष्पं प्रवालोपहितं यदि स्यात्  
मुक्ताफलं वा रुकुटिविद्वमस्थम् ।  
ततोऽनुकुर्यात् विशदस्य तस्या-  
स्तान्नोष्टपर्यस्तहृचः स्मितस्य ॥

"Flowers among tender leaves or pearls set amidst corals may bear comparison with the smile playing on her lips."

Now we shall turn to the śloka from the Mandasmita-sataka.

यान्ती लोहितिमानमभ्रतटिनी धातुच्छटाकर्दमैः  
भान्ती बालगभस्तिमालिकिरणैर्मेघावली शारदी ।  
विम्बोष्टद्युतिपुञ्जचुम्बनकलाशोणायमानेन ते  
कामाक्षि स्मितरोचिषा समदशामारोद्धमाकाङ्क्षते ॥

"The waters of the Ganges turning red on account of the dhatu sand or the white clouds with the rays of the morning sun upon them surely long to be compared with thy smile tinged with the hue of thy lips".

Really the poetic wit of Mūka seems to be on a grander scale than that of Kālidāsa though his description is quite picturesque.

We may find perhaps the poet revelling in the same kind of metaphors and imagery without variation, but it is a marvel he never wearies us. On the other hand we feel we can sit listening to the ślokas all our lives enraptured by the exquisite melody of their language.

Concentration on a single theme and repetition of the same idea may in the case of other poets tend to mar the effect of their poetry. But it is not so with these verses.

The same Bhāva may be repeated a hundred times, but the unique wonder of it is that there is no question of its ever tiring us. Very likely the Bhāvas conceived at the height of the poet's ecstasy, his Ānandāmṛta, have on that very account derived this quality therefrom, of eternal sweetness. We may notice this peculiarity in his style—his love for saying things in a round-about way by which however he succeeds in creating a definite atmosphere.

The number of phrases he employs for the moon occurring in almost every verse is as amazing as it is enchanting. सरसिजदौर्भाग्यम्—The misfortune of the lotus: चक्रोरसाम्राज्यम्—The all in all of the cakora: कोकद्विट्—The enemy of the cakravāka: कुमुदसुषमामैत्रीपात्री—one who is worthy of the friendship of the beautiful kumuda: सरसिजवनीसन्तानामरुतदः— The affliction of the progeny of the lotus pond: कमलानामन्धङ्करणौषधम्—The drug which seals the eyes of the lotuses: To mention only a few.

We wonder, whether even Kālidāsa, skilled and conscious artist that he is, can boast of this abundance of the choicest expressions found in the Mūkapañcaśatī. We are lost too much in the music of the diction even to think on the meaning.

The predominant note of all the five śatas is the Śrīngāra. The poet paints the ardent feelings of love between the Devī and Siva in the most captivating colours just as may be treated of in any Śrīngāra Nāṭaka or Kāvya. We find nevertheless he has kept throughout in the region of Bhakti and never strayed away from it to that of actual Śrīngāra. Even at the height of it, the border-land dividing Bhakti from Śrīngāra is too wide and clear ever to be mistaken. Nowhere indeed can we find any of the lower emotions vitiating the effect of the purity of his devotion.

It is clear, the poet thought to be dumb was one of the worst misfortunes that could affect a mortal. For he remarks in the Āryā Śataka.

मूकोऽपि जटिलदुर्गतिशोकोऽपि स्मरति यः क्षणं भवतीम् ।  
एको भवति स जन्तुः लोकोत्तरकीर्तिरेव कामाक्षि ॥

The individual who thinks of you for an instant, be he dumb or the unhappiest mortal on earth, attains the loftiest renown,

Verily to be bereft of speech meant for him to be deprived of that ineffable felicity of being able to sing the glory of the Mother. So he lays special emphasis in his outpourings on this, that the individual whom the Mother has blessed will be endowed with the gift of poetry.

राकाचन्द्रसमानकान्तिवदना नाकाधिराजस्तुता  
मूकानामपि कुर्वती सुरधुनीनीकाशवाग्यैभवम् ।  
श्रीकाश्चीनगरीविहारसिका शोकापहन्त्री सतां ।  
एका पुण्यपरम्परा पशुपतेराकारिणी राजते ॥

"Bestowing even on those who are dumb the power of expression as holy and perennial as the Ganges." Whatever may be the results of reading the Mūkapañcaśatī regularly, one enduring profit is certain. The person who has made it a habit of reciting it with devotion is sure ultimately to gain mastery of the Sanskrit language.

It would be incorrect to say that we have no other poem like it in Sanskrit. There is the Saundarya Laharī of Śrī Śankara, and the Lalitā Devīśatī of the great sage Durvāsas. But they both are to be valued more for their possessing the efficacy of the mantra, the regular chanting of which bestows on the individual the fulfilment of all his desires than for their poetic value.

Though the Mūkapañcaśatī is just an inspired poem singing the glory of Śrī Kāmākṣī, we find in it nevertheless the poet's knowledge of the Upaniṣads and the Śāstras. For has he expressed anything but the profoundest philosophy in this Śloka?

जगन्नेदं नेदं परमिति परिल्यज्य यतिभिः  
कुशाग्रीयस्वान्तैः कुशलघिषणैः शास्त्रसरणौ ।  
गवेष्यं कामाक्षिं ध्रुवमकृतकानां गिरिसुते  
गिरमैदंपर्यं तव चरणमाहात्म्यगरिमा ॥

"The glory of thy feet is such that great sages after renouncing the world seek in the light of the Śāstras, their way unto them as being the only eternal truth revealed in the Vedas."

It may be seen that he is also familiar with the fine arts. For he points out to a nicety in the following śloka the details of the planning of the stage.

केशप्रभापटलनीलवितानजाले  
 कामाक्षि कुण्डलमणिछविदीपशोभे ।  
 कमे कटाक्षरुचिरङ्गतले कृपाख्या  
 शैल्षकी नटति शङ्करवल्लभे ते ॥

“On the stage of thy Kaṭākṣa overhung with the curtain  
 the dark sheen of thy hair and illumined by the radiance of the  
 Kundalas on thy ears, thy mercy plays the part as it were of the  
 actress.”

What pathos is conveyed in this śloka as he speaks of his  
 existence depending upon small-minded men.

जननि भुवने चङ्गयेहं कियन्तमनेहसं  
 कुपुरुषकरधृष्टदृष्टैर्धनैरुदरम्भरिः ।  
 तरुणकरुणे तन्द्राशून्ये तरङ्गय लोचने  
 नमति मयि ते किञ्चित्काञ्चीपुरीमणिदीपिके ॥

“Mother, how long am I to wander on this earth eking out  
 my existence with the help of small petty men. Turn thy  
 gracious ever wakeful eye upon me for I have thrown myself  
 at thy feet.”

I can go on in this strain quoting many more verses. But  
 the highly lyrical charm of the Mūkapañcaśatī is rather to be  
 felt than explained. Both word and meaning so wholly  
 merge in each other that they can scarcely be separated. It  
 would be no wonder if the beauty of an idea should be lost in  
 the translation of it into another language.

Allow me then to conclude with these words: these verses,  
 the living expressions of a great soul, a mahābhakta will always  
 make an extraordinary appeal to those who love Sanskrit.

PATAÑJALI, A LAKŠYAIKACAKṢUS: HIS LOFTY  
REALISM.

BY

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M.O.L.

*Adyar Library.*

Pāṇini is a practical grammarian. Kātyāyana, though he generally preserves<sup>1</sup> the spirit of Pāṇini, sometimes misses it and is on such occasions (as in the first of the instances given below) pulled up by Patañjali in whom Pāṇini finds the ablest champion of his lofty realism in grammar. Patañjali does not countenance unnecessary theorization. To him language and grammar are coterminous. He is a Lakṣyaikacakṣus: one who sees Lakṣaṇa through Lakṣya. The difference between Lakṣaṇaikacakṣuṣṭva and Lakṣyaikacakṣuṣṭva is the difference between Idealism and Realism or that between theory and practice. Any linguistic phenomenon which neither the Vedic nor the classical language embodied and was not supported by popular<sup>2</sup> usage is branded by him as unfit for grammatical treatment. The following instances clearly bear this out.

परेष्व बाङ्ग्योः (Pāṇini 8-2-22)

Kātyāyana: सङ्गि लत्वसलोपसंयोगादिलोपकुत्वदीर्घत्वानि प्रयोजनं गिरौ  
मिरः पयो धावति द्विष्टरम् दृष्टस्थानम् काष्ठशक्त्याता  
कुञ्चाधुर्य इति ।

In the first Vārtika Kātyāyana desires सङ्गि to be read along with certain Sūtras in this Pāda enjoining लत्व etc. In the second he enumerates the purpose for which it has to be read.

Patañjali: एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । काष्ठशगेव नास्ति ; कुतः यः  
काष्ठशक्ति तिष्ठेत् ?

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1. Cf. अतिप्रसङ्ग इति चेदभिधानलक्षणत्वात्प्रत्ययस्य सिद्धम् ।  
(P. 3. 3. 19, Vārtika. 3) etc.,

2. Cf. the Mahābhāṣya on P 3. 1. 67: नैकमुदाहरणं योगारम्भं प्रयोजनं यति ॥

With reference to काष्ठशक्त्याता what Kātyāyana says is that if सङ्गि is read along with P. 8. 2. 29. (स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च), the operation of that Sūtra will be restricted to instances which contain सङ्ग् and the elision of क् can be avoided in this case. The word काष्ठशक् itself does not exist, says Patañjali, not to speak of a compound like काष्ठशक्त्याता.

Cf. also Patañjali on—

- P. 1. 1. 24 यदेवं प्रियाष्टौ प्रियाष्टा इति न सिद्ध्यति ।  
प्रियाष्टानौ प्रियाष्टान इति च प्राप्नोति । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 2. 4. 34 यदेवमेनश्रितको न सिद्ध्यति ।  
एनच्छ्रितक इति प्राप्नोति । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 1. 86. यदेवं वेतिऽप्रलये उरिथो प्राप्नोति ।  
उदिति चेष्यते । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 1. 68 यदेवं कीर्तयतेरप्रत्ययः किरिति प्राप्नोति । कीर्त् इति चेष्यते ।  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 2. 4. 2 एवमपि कर्तृच कर्तृचे अत्र न प्राप्नोति ।  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 4. 19. तथा वाच्छ्वतेरप्रलयो वान् वांशौ वांश इति न सिद्ध्यति  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 4. 163. पयिष्ठ इति न सिद्ध्यति । पयसिष्ठ इति प्राप्नोति ।  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 7. 2. 106. द्व इति प्राप्नोति । स्व इति चेष्यते ।  
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥

The commentators<sup>1</sup> on the Mahābhāṣya explain यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते thus:

- Kaiyaṭa : नैव वा लक्षणमप्रयुक्ते प्रवर्तते । प्रयुक्तानामेव लक्षणेनान्वाह्यनात् ॥
- Nāgeśa : लक्षणस्याभावोऽलक्षणम् । तस्य योग्यता यथालक्षणमव्ययीभावः ।  
अप्रयुक्ते लक्षणाभावस्यैव योग्यता नतु लक्षणस्येत्यर्थः ।

1. See the Pradīpa and the Udyota on P I. I 24.

Kātyāyana very often entertains unreasonable fear and rushes to modify Pāṇini. His intention, it must be noted, is not to criticise Pāṇini but to save the latter from becoming imperfect or faulty in some respect as supposed by him. On such occasions Patañjali brings it home to the Vārtikakāra that no grammar can traverse the actual boundaries of the language with which it is concerned and that the fear entertained by him and the effort made to rectify Pāṇini are both needless and baseless.

The following are two instances illustrative of a host of others.

P. 4. 3. 120. तस्येदम् ।

Kātyāyana: अनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधः

Patañjali explains: अनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

तस्यानन्तरस्तस्य समीप इति किं यद्योगा षष्ठी प्रवर्तत इत्यतो  
अनन्तरादिषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

Refutes: यद्यप्युच्यते अनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य इति, न वक्तव्यः ।  
अनभिधानादनन्तरादिषुपत्तिर्न भविष्यति ।

P. 4. 4. 83. विध्यत्यधनुषा ।

Kātyāyana: विध्यत्यकरणेन ।

Patañjali: विध्यत्यकरणेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ।

Kātyāyana: इतरथाहातिप्रसङ्गः ।

Patañjali explains: अधनुषेति ह्युच्यमाने अतिप्रसङ्गो भवति ।  
इहापि प्रसञ्जेत शर्कराभिर्विध्यति कण्टकैर्विध्यति ।

Refutes: तत्त्वहिं वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । कस्मान् भवति । शर्कराभि-  
र्विध्यति । कण्टकैर्विध्यति । अनभिधानात् ॥

*Later commentators Lakṣaṇaika - cakṣuṣkas.*

The later commentators sometimes lose themselves in the wilderness of theorization, dallying with such conjectural forms as those derived from the addition of आचारकिप् to कर्तरिकिप् etc. The following instances are culled from Bhāṭṭoji Dikṣita's works, but they have also the support of some other older

commentators. Some of them, namely काव् कलत् etc. are taken by him from the works<sup>1</sup> of his predecessors.

Nageśa, the greatest among the later grammarians, is the solitary exception. He reminds us very often in his works the necessity of sustaining Pāṇini's lofty realism: he is Patañjali the second. None who have taken the pains of studying his works closely will ever tire of praising him. It is very unfortunate that modern Oriental scholarship should have been slow to recognise fully the merit of this master-mind. The following exemplifies some later commentators' dry theorization and disgusting indulgence in *nugae*.

अत्रोच्यते । कुस्मायतेः कूरित्यादिसिद्धये संयोगादिति वाच्यमेव ।  
किञ्च तक् रक् इत्यार्थमपि । वक्तव्यम् । न चानभिवानं प्रमाणाभावात् ।  
कैयटादिभिरुदाहृतत्वाच्च ।

तक्षयतेः किपि तक् ।

रक्षयतेस्तु रक् ।

स्कन्दयतेः स्कन् ।

(Śabdakaustubha, Chowkhaṁba ed., Vol. I, pp. 308 and 309).

काब्यं कलत्रं शालं चाचक्षाणः काव् कलत् शाल् । आदभ्यतेरध्य् ॥  
(Praudhāmanorāma, Kāśī Sanskrit Series ed., Part I, p. 98).

शुष्क्युः पक्युः शुष्क्यः पक्यः

(Pr. Man., Part I, p. 145)

पन्थानमात्मन इच्छति पर्थीयति । ततः किप् । अलोपः । यलोपः ।  
एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् पथिमथीत्यात्म् । थोन्थः । पन्थाः ।

Ibid, Part I, p. 384.

Bhaṭṭoji gives twenty-eight forms of the Sandhi of उ and इति (P. 8. 3. 33: मयउजो वो वा) and one hundred and eight forms of संस्कर्ता (Siddh. Kaum, P. 8. 3. 34). Again in the chapter on the declension of neuters ending in consonants of the same work he has:

<sup>2</sup>गवाकूशब्दस्य रूपाणि झीचेऽर्चागतिभेदतः ।  
असन्ध्यत्वूर्वल्पैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥

1. Prakriyākauṇudi, etc.
2. Cf. Patañjali on P. 7. 1. 72: व्यञ्जनपरस्यैकस्यानेकस्य वोचारणे विशेषाभावः ।

रवम्सुषु नवषट्मादौ षट्के स्युस्त्रीणि जशसोः ।

चत्वारि शेषे दशकं रूपाणीति विभावय ॥

ऊद्यमेषां द्विर्वचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् ।

रु. ४७श्वाक्षिभूतानि (527) भवन्तीति मनीषिभिः ॥

These words have to be searched for elsewhere than in the range (the earth with its seven continents etc., etc.,) described by Patañjali. Even if they are found used by some later writers after the example of these grammarians, it is no genuine proof for their existence. If our approach to Pañini's grammar is strictly historical and if we examine these words with an open mind, we cannot but observe that some of these later commentators have in this respect fallen short of the high ideal set up by Pāṇini and Patañjali. Let us remember what Patañjali says in Paspaśa :

ये पुनः कार्या भावा निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यत्नः क्रियते । तथथा—घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु घटं कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान्प्रयुक्षमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु शब्दान्प्रयोक्ष्य इति ।

(Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, pp. 7-8).

As again at what we find in the works of some commentators referred to above, Nāgeśa's following statements may be noted.

१पे तु न पदान्ता हलोऽणः सन्तीति लणसूत्रस्थभाष्यात् वृक्षवादेनभिधानमेव । भोभगो इति सूत्रेऽप्रहणमन्यर्थकमन्यत्राभावादिति वर्तिकाच्च । अशोऽन्यत्र तन्निमित्तकार्थिणो ऽभावादिति तदर्थः । न हान्यत्र रुस्त्वीति तदूव्याह्यानभाष्ये रुप्रहणमुपलक्षणम् ।

(Laghuśabdenduśekhara, Part I, p. 149 Kāśi Sanskrit Series ed.)

किपस्त्वादन्तेभ्यो भाष्यानुकळिभ्यो ऽनभिधानमेव ।

(p. 364)

एवं च साशब्दादेर्यामिधानम् ।

(p. 365)

आचारकिवन्तप्रकृतिकर्तुकिवन्तस्य भाष्ये काष्यनुपन्यासेन तेभ्यः कर्तृकिपो ऽनभिधानस्यैव लाभाच्च ।

(pp. 366 and 367)

1. See also p. 4-6.

इतरसूत्रविषयोदाहरणानभिधानम् ।

(p. 413)

आधिकरणे क्यच् तु नास्त्येव अनभिधानात् ।

(p. 460)

मघवनूशब्दस्य लोके इसाधुत्वम् ।

(p. 468)

एतेन पर्थीयतेः किपि पन्था इत्यादीत्यपास्तम् ।

(p. 473)

नैव वा लक्षणमप्रयुक्ते प्रवर्तते । प्रयुक्तानामेव लक्षणेनान्वाख्याना  
दित्यन्त्याख्यनमेव उपायः ।

(p. 473)



VEDIC STUDIES 1. THE ACT OF TRUTH IN THE  
RGVEDA  
BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

(Continued from page 165, Vol. XIV).

Verse 3 ascribes the freeing of the Dawns to Indu or Soma, who, according to Sāyaṇa, is the moon.

In verse 4, the expression ‘navel that wins light’ (*svarvidā nābhinā*) is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains it as [aśvaiḥ] *nābhinā saunaddhena svarvidā suṣṭhv-aranīyasya dhanasya lambhakena rathena*; and similarly, GRASSMANN and LUDWIG explain the pāda as ‘mit segensreichen Nabe Welt durchdringend’ and ‘mit der nabe, die das leicht findet, der menschensättiger’ respectively. I am disposed to think that the reference here is perhaps to Indra’s weapon Vajra, which receives the epithet *svarsāḥ* (= *svarviṣ*, ‘winning light’) in 1,100,13: *tasya vajrah krandati smat svarṣā divo na tveṣo ravathah śimivān* and the epithet *carṣanīdhṛt* (= *carṣanīprāḥ*, ‘protecting people’) in 8, 90, 5: [sa tvam śavīṣṭha vajrahasta dāśuṣe rvañcam rayim ā kṛd’ii 411] *tvam indra yaśā asy rjīṣī śavasas pate tvam vrtraṇi hamsy apratīny eka id ānuttā carṣanīdhṛtā*. This Vajra is mentioned along with Indra’s horses in 6, 23, 1: *yād vā yuktābhyām maghavan haribhyām bibhrad vajram bāhvōr indra yāsi*, and is described as Indra’s ‘old friend’ in O, 21, 7: *tava pratnēna yujyena sakhyā vajrena dhṛṣṇo apa ta nudasva*. It is perhaps this ‘old friendship’ that is referred to as *nābhi* ‘navel’ (i. e., close relation) in the verse under discussion.

(18) 1, 72, 8: svādhyo || diva ā sapta yahvi  
rāyo duro vy ṛtajñā ajānan|  
vidad gavyam saramā dṝham ūrvam  
yenā nu kam mānuṣī bhojate viṭ ||

"The seven (sons) of Heaven, knowers of (spells of) truth, longing, found the mighty doors of wealth. Saramā found the massive cave of the cows from which the clans of men derive enjoyment".

The *svādhyāḥ*<sup>11</sup> spoken of in this verse are the Aṅgirases. I construe with this word the expression *divāḥ sapta* which signifies 'the seven sons of Heaven'; compare GELDNER's note on 4, 16, 3: "‘of Heaven’ is equivalent to ‘the sons of Heaven’ in *RV.* Ueber., p. 392. They are referred to as *divāḥ sapta* *kāravāḥ* in 4, 16, 3: *diva itthā jījanat sapta kārūn* he (sc. Indra) produced here the seven poets who are the sons of Heaven'. *sapta* is construed with *yahvīḥ* (explained as 'rivers') by Sāyaṇa, GELDNER(*RV. Ueber.*), LUDWIG, GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) and Oldenberg (SBE. 46, p. 83), while Bergaigne, in III, 232, construes it with *rāyo durāḥ*.<sup>1</sup>

*Vyajānan* 'found' seems to signify, further, 'rent'. The 'wealth' mentioned in pāda b refers, as observed above, to the herd of cows (*gomayam vāsu*) imprisoned in the mountain.

Saramā, mentioned in c, is the divine dog who takes part, along with the Aṅgirases, Bṛhaspati, Indra and others, in the discovery and release of the cows imprisoned in Vala. As we shall see below, she too is said to have discovered the cows by means of 'the path of *rta*', that is, by means of (a spell of) truth.

*ūrvā*<sup>1</sup> signifies 'hole, cave, cavity', that is, the mountain-cave in which the cows were confined. In the second half, we have to supply the word *tena* to correspond with the word *yena*. The expression *yenā nu kām mānuṣī bhojate vīṭ* refers to the milk of the cows; see Sāyaṇa's commentary and compare also 3, 30, 14: *mahi jyotiḥ n̄hitam vaksanāsv āmā pakvām carati bibhrati gauḥ viśvām svādma sambhṛtam usriyāyām yat sīm indro adadhād bhojanāya.*

Regarding the finding of milk in connection with the Vala myth, compare 3, 31, 11: *sa jātebhīr vṛtrahā sed u havyai ud*

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1. In II, 135, on the other hand, he seems to have construed it with *divo yahvīḥ*.

*usriyā asrjad īdro arkaih| urūcy asmai ghṛtavād bharantī  
madhu svādma duduhe jenyā gauḥ; 6, 17, 6: tava kratvā tava  
tad daṁsanābhīr amāsu pakvam śacyā nī dīdhāḥ| aurñor dura  
usriyābhyo vi dr̄lhodūrvād gā asrjo aṅgirāsvān and 8, 32, 25:  
ya udnah phaligam bhinan nyak sindhūnr avāśrjat| yo goṣu  
pakvam dhārayat.*

(19) 5, 45, 8: *vīśve asyā vyuṣi māhināyāḥ  
sam̄ yad gobhir aṅgiraso navantaḥ  
utsa āsām̄ paramē sadhastha  
ṛtasya pathā saramā vidad gāḥ||*

"When, at the dawning of this great one, all the Aṅgirases roared with the cows,—their spring is in the highest abode—Saramā found the cows by the path of truth".

As explained above under 4, 3, 11, the 'roaring of the Aṅgirases with the cows' refers to the sound made by the Aṅgirases, when they uttered spells of truth for the purpose of rending the mountain and freeing the cows. *ṛtasya*, in pāda d, means 'of a spell of truth'. This spell does not seem to be the one uttered by the Aṅgirases; on the other hand, it is more probable that, like Indra and Bṛhaspati, Saramā too joined the Aṅgirases when they uttered the spell of truth, and that the reference here is to the spell of truth uttered by her. See 3, 31, 6 explained below. Sāyaṇa explains *ṛtasya pathā* as *satyasya mārgena*.

(20) 5, 45, 7: *anūnod atra hastayato adrīr  
ārcan yena daśa māso navagvāḥ|  
ṛtam̄ yati saramā gā avindad  
viśvāni satyāṅgirāś cakāra||*

"The pressing-stone, guided by the hands, made here a loud sound by which the Navagvas sang for ten months. Attaining the (spell of) truth, Saramā found the cows; Aṅgiras performed all acts of truth".

Pāda c. *ṛtum̄ yati sarāmā gā avindat* has the same signification as pāda, d, *ṛtasya pathā saramā vidad gāḥ* of 5, 45, 8 explained above. Compare also Sāyaṇa's explanation *ṛtam̄ satyam̄ yajñam̄ vā yati prāpnuvatī*.

Regarding the expression *satyā cakāra*, compare the expression *kṝṇomi satyam* in AV. 4, 18, 1 explained above and the observations made in that connection. The singular *āṅgiras* here seems to stand for the plural, *jātāv eka-vacanam*. Or, does it refer to Indra who, as mentioned above, is described as 'chief Āṅgiras'?

The meaning of pādas cd is, thus, 'Saramā found the cows by means of a spell of truth when Āṅgiras (or, the Angirases) too uttered spells of truth'. Compare 3, 31, 6-7 explained below.

(21) 3, 31, 5-7: vīlau satīr abhi dhīrā atrñdan  
prācā hinvan manasā sapta vīprāḥ||  
viśvām avindau pathyām ṛtasya  
prajānann it tā namasā viveśa||  
vidad yadī saramā rugñam adrer  
mahi pāthāḥ pūrvyām sadhryak kah|  
agram nayat supady akṣarāṇām  
acchā ravam prathamā jānatī gāt||  
agacchad u vīpratamah sakhiyann  
asūdayat sukṛte garbhām adriḥ|  
sasāna maryo yuvabhir makhasyann  
athābhavad āṅgirāḥ sadyo arcan||

"The seven sagacious bards cut a path for those (fem.) that were in the fortress and drove them out by a forward-turned spell; they found every path of truth. The sagacious (Indra) burst in upon them with a prayer.

"When Saramā found the cleft in the mountain, she drove the primaeval water which was together; she with the fine feet led the van of the imperishable ones; she first went towards the sound, recognising it.

"(Indra), the best of seers, went there to make friends; the mountain put out the foetus for the well-doer. The youth, fighting, won, along with the youths; then, uttering spells, he became an Āṅgiras in the same instant."

In v. 5, 'those in the fortress' in pāda a are the cows imprisoned in the mountain. *viśvām avindat pathyām ṛtasya* in

b has the same sense as *viśvāni satyā' ngirāś cakāra* in pāda d of 5, 45, 7 explained above; 'they found every path of truth' means 'they employed every spell of truth; they employed spells of truth on every occasion'. It is this spell of truth that is referred to by the expression *prācā manasā* (= *prācā mantreṇā*) in b; compare with it 7, 67, 5: *prācīm u devāśvinā dhiyam me' mṛdhrām sātaye kṛtam vasūyum. prajānān*, in d, seems to refer to Indra, and *namasā*, to the spell of truth employed by him.

Regarding v. 6, the interpretations given by the exegetists differ widely from one another. Sāyaṇa explains it as: *yadi yadā saramā in̄reṇa gavānveṣanārtham̄ preṣitā saramā nāma deva-śunī adreh rugñam bhagnam dvāram̄ vidat alabhata tadānīm indrah mahi mahat pūrvyam pūrvam̄ preṣaṇa-kāle 'nnādinaṁ te prajām̄ k iṣyāmi iti pratijñātām sadhryak itarair api bhojyaiḥ sadhṛīcīnam̄ pāthah gavyādi-lakṣaṇam̄ annam̄ kah akārṣit tasyai dattavān̄ | tataḥ supadī śobhana-pāda-yuktā sā saraṇā akṣarānām̄ kṣaya-rahitānām̄ gavām agram̄ prāntam̄ nayat prāpnot| kuia ity ata āha| yataḥ ravam̄ teṣām̄ hambhā-ravam̄ prathamā prathamam̄ jānatī satī accha śabdā..himukhyena gāt jagāma. GELDNER (RV. Ueber.) translates it as, “‘Wenn die Saramā den Spalt in Fedlser findet, so wird sie ihren früheren grossen Schutz vollständig machen’. Die Leichtfussige leitete die Reden ein; kundig ging sie als erste auf das Gebrüll zu”, GRASSMANN (RV. Ueber.) as, “Als Saramā den Spalt des Felsens auffand, da bahnte sie den, alten Himmelspfad, der zu einem Ziele hinführt; mit sicherm Fuss geht sie voran; der unversieglichen [Kühe oder Ströme] Getön erkennend, kam sie zuerst hin” and Ludwig as, “Als Saramā den ris des felsen fand, [plünderte] raffte sie zusammen dem grosen alten ort, mit gutem fuze fürte sie an der spitze der gewässer, zuerst war zum gebrüll sie die wol kundige gekomen”. Further, in an article published in ZDMG. 54, p. 599 ff., it has been contended by OLDENBERG that the word *pāthah* does not signify 'water' at all in the RV, and he has translated pāda b of the above verse as 'die grosse alte Stätte vereint machte'.*

The above-mentioned interpretations of the word *pāthah* seem to me to be all unsatisfactory, and I believe that the

meaning 'water' suits it best in this passage. Compare 3, 31, 16: *apāś cid esa vibhvō dāmūnāḥ prā sadhricīr asṛjad viśvaś-candrāḥ* "This lord (Indra) released the all-shining mighty waters that were together", which occurs in the same hymn, that is, in connection with the same Vala myth; and note how the words *vibhvah* and *sadhricih* of this verse correspond to the words *mahi* and *sadhryak*<sup>1</sup> in v. 6b<sup>1</sup> *kah*, in 6b, signifies 'drove out, impelled', just as *kṛta* in the expression *kāmena kṛta* (6, 49, 8; 6, 58, 3-4) signifies 'impelled; getrieben' (see Pischel, Ved. St., 1, 22); and thus the only difference between v. 6b and v. 16ab is that the former speaks of 'water' (*pāthah*) in the singular, while the latter speaks of 'waters' (*apah*) in the plural.

Regarding the epithet *pūrvyam* 'primaeval' applied to water, compare 10, 30, 10: *rṣe janitrīr bhuvanasya patnīr apo vandasva sāvrdhaḥ sayonīḥ* "Make obeisance, O seer, to the Waters, the creators and lords of the world, that have grown up together in the same womb", and the passages cited in VVSt. 1 p. 162.

In the translation given above, I have made *saramā* subject of the verb *kah*, because it is the subject of the verb *vidat* in pāda a, and of *nayat* and *gāt* in pādas cd also. It is however possible that the subject intended by the poet may be *indrah*, mentioned in verse 4d. Compare 3, 31, 16 cited above; hymn 3, 31 is addressed to Indra, and as said above, *prjanān* in v. 5d refers in all probability to him.

In pāda c, *akṣarānām* denotes, according to the interpretations reproduced above, cows, speeches, waters or rivers. The expression *āgram nayat* however in that pāda is synonymous with *prathamā gāt* in the next; and it would seem therefore that *akṣarānām* refers to the persons that followed the guidance of Saramā, to wit, the Aṅgirases, who are said in 10, 62, 1:

1. It may be noted that the word *sadhryak* or its equivalent *sadhricina*, *sadhricīna*, nowhere occurs in the RV as an epithet of words signifying 'place'; see Grassmann s. v.

*yē yajñēna dākṣinayā samaktā īndrasya sakhyam amṛtatvām* ānaśā to have attained immortality (*amṛtatvām*). The only objection against this interpretation is the fact that *akṣara* is not, even in later Sanskrit literature, used as a synonym of *amartya*. If this objection be regarded as insuperable, I would then understand *akṣara* here as ‘speech’, a sense which the word has in 7, 15, 9: *upa tvā sātaye nāro vīprāso yanti dhītibhiḥ | upākṣarā sahasriṇī*. The ‘speeches’ referred to would be the spells of truth uttered by Saramā, the Aṅgirases, Indra, etc.; and the pāda would thus signify that Saramā was the first in uttering a spell of truth and that her example was followed by the Aṅgirases, etc. *supadī* should then be interpreted as ‘she who has fine words’.

In verse 7, it is the object of the poet to describe how Indra became an Aṅgiras. The verse says that Indra went to the Aṅgirases offering his friendship (pāda a), that this offer was accepted and Indra became one of the Aṅgirases (pāda d), that, chanting (a spell of truth), he and his friends (*yuvabhiḥ*) offered battle and won (pāda c), and that the mountain gave up the foetus, that is, the cows and waters, etc., that had been imprisoned (pāda b).

(22) 1, 71, 2-3: *vīlū cid dṝlhā pitāro na ukthair*  
*adrim rujann aṅgiraso rāveṇā |*  
*cākrur divo bṝhato gātum asme*  
*ahaḥ svar vividuh ketum usrāḥ ||*  
*dādhann ṝtam dhanayann asya dhītim*  
*ād id aryō didhiṣvo vibhītrāḥ |*  
*atṝṣyantīr apaso yanty acchā*  
*devāñ janma prāyasā vardhāyantīḥ ||*

“Our fathers, the Aṅgirases, have cleft even solid fortresses by means of spells, the mountain by their shout. They have made for us a path to the wide heaven. They found the day, the sun, and the herald of the Dawns“(after)they upheld the truth and made current its spell. Then, the wooing (prayers) of the rich (sacrificer), that have spread themselves, unthirsting,

active, go to the tribes of the gods, strengthening them with pleasing (food)".

In verse 2, *ukthaiḥ* denotes the spells of truth uttered by the Aṅgirases, and *rava* the loud sound produced by the utterance. The *vīlu dṝlhā* are the same as the *adri*. The meaning of the fourth pāda is, 'they set free the imprisoned Dawns, dispelled the darkness, made the sun mount the sky, and caused the day'.

The first pāda of verse 3 forms one sentence with pāda d of verse 2, and we have to supply a word like 'after' between them. *ṛtam dadhan* is equivalent to *ṛtam yemuh* and *asya (ṛtasya) dhūtim dhanayan* to *ṛtam āśuṣāñāḥ* in 4, 2, 14 explained above.

In pādas 2, 3, the meaning of the word *didhiṣvah*, *vibhr̄trāḥ*, and *atr̄syantih* is not clear; and I have, above, mostly followed the translation given by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 74), supplying also, like him, the word 'prayers' after these words. The two pādas signify, according to GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*): "Since then, the covetous (thoughts) of the rival sacrificer are (like) children that are carried; the desireless (thoughts) of the skilled (singer) only go to them", and according to LUDWIG, "Then, distributing themselves among the pious desirers, (themselves) not thirsting, the clever (Dawns) approach". According to Sāyaṇa, those who approach are the *yajamāṇa-lakṣaṇāḥ prajāḥ*.

Concerning the expression 'wooing prayers', see Bergaigne, II, 268 ff.

Regarding verse 3 d, I cannot agree with Oldenberg in his opinion (op. cit., p. 77) that *devāñ janma*=*devām janma*, and that *devām* is the genitive plural (without the augment -n-) of *devā*, in the same way as in 1, 70, 6: *etā cikitvo bhūmā ni pāhi devānām janma martāmś ca vidvān*, *martām* is the genitive plural of *marta*. This latter verse does not signify, "Protect, O knowing one, these beings, thou who knowest the birth of gods and men" as Oldenberg believes (p. 70, op. cit.), but 'Protect, O knowing one, these beings, thou that observest the tribes of gods and men'; compare Geldner's translation, 'Du,

Kundiger, schutze diese Geschöpfe, der du die Geschlechter der Götter und Sterblichen kennst,<sup>1</sup> and the verses 2, 6, 7 (*antar hy agna iyase vidvāñ janmabhayā kave*) and 9, 73, 8 referred to by him. *devānāñ janma martāñś ca=devānām janmāni martāñś ca=devajanmāni martajanmāni ca.* Similarly, in 1, 71, 3d too *janma=janmāni*; and *devān janmāni=the tribes that are the gods, i.e., the tribes of the gods.*

Pādas b c d say that, after the Aṅgirases found the Dawns, the sun and the day, pious sacrificers began to offer prayers and pleasing food to the gods.

(23) 10, 67, 2-3: ṛtam śāmsanta ṛju dīdhyanā  
                         divas putrāśo asurasya vīrāḥ||  
                         vipram padam aṅgiraso dadhānā  
                         yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta||  
                         hamsair iva sakhibhir vāvadadbhir  
                         asmanmayāni nahānā vyasyan|  
                         bṛhaspatir abhikanikradad gā  
                         uta prāstaud uc ca vidvāñ agāyat||

“Uttering the (spell of) truth, and thinking righteously, the valiant Aṅgirases, sons of the mighty Dyaus, bearing the word ‘bard’, praised first the worshipful one.

“With the companions who were crying loudly like swans, Bṛhaspati, observing and removing the stony bonds, roared towards the cows, and praised and sang loudly”.

The signification of *vipram padam dadhānāh* is v. 2c is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains the expression as *vipram prajñā-pakam yajñasya dhāma dhārakam padam bṛhaspaty-ākyam dadhānāh karmaṇā dhārayantah santah prathamam ādita eva mananta stuwantih prajñāpakanhy etat sthānami yad bṛhaspatir iti*, Ludwig as, ‘winning the position of holy singers’, and Grassmann as ‘guiding (?) their step to the singer’. I prefer to interpret *padam* as ‘word’, and *vipram padam dadhānāh* as ‘bearing the word (i.e., name) *vipra*’, i.e., known by the name of ‘bard’.

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1. LUDWIG's translation too is similar to that of GELDNER.

*yajñā*, in pāda d, signifies *yajanīya* or ‘worshipful’; see VVSt. 1, p. 7. Who the worshipful was whom the Aṅgirases praised as a preliminary to their *satya-kriyā*, we do not know. Regarding such preliminary adoration, see the observations of Burlingame cited above in the explanation of 4, 2, 14-16.

In v. 3, the expression *hamsair iva vāvadadbhiḥ* refers to the loud sound produced by the Aṅgirases when uttering the spell of truth. Similarly, the words *kanikradat*, *astaut*, and *udagāyat* too refer to the spell of truth uttered by Bṛhaspati in company with the Aṅgirases. *abhikanikradat gah* ‘roared towards the cows’=spoke loudly a spell of truth for the purpose of (rending the mountain and) freeing the cows.

The meaning of verses 2, 3 thus is: the Aṅgirases praised the worshipful one first and then uttered the spell of truth; Bṛhaspati joined them in the utterance, and as a result, the stony enclosure imprisoning the cows was removed and the cows were released.

(24) 2, 24, 14: brahmaṇaspater abhavad yathāvaśam  
 satyo manyur mahi karmā kariṣyataḥ|  
 yo gā udājat sa dive vi cābhajan  
 mahīva rītiḥ śavasā sarat pṛthak||

“The spell of truth of Brahmaṇaspati, who was about to perform a great feat, acted as desired; he who drove forth the cows gave them to Heaven; (the herd of cows), like a mighty current, moved forward impetuously with strong force”.

*manyuh*=spell (cp. Sāyaṇa’s explanation, *manyuh manana-sādhano mantrah*), and *satyo manyuh*=*satya-mantrah* or *satya-vacanam*.

The ‘great feat that he was about to perform’ is, of course, the rending of the mountain and the freeing of the Waters and the cows. As already pointed out in VVSt. 1, p. 145, *iva* in pāda d has the force of *ca* and signifies ‘and’.

(25) 10, 108, 11: dūram ita paṇayo varīya  
 ud gāvo yantu minatīr ṛtena|  
 bṛhaspatir yā avindan nigūlhāḥ  
 somo grāvāṇa ṛṣayaś ca viprāḥ||

"Go away, far away, ye Paṇis. Let the lowing cows come out, the cows, which had been hidden and which, by means of a (spell of) truth, Bṛhaspati found, (and also), Soma, the pressing-stones, and the inspired ṛṣis".

Hymn 10, 108, in which the above verse occurs, is a dialogue between the Paṇis who had hidden the cows and Saramā who had been sent by Indra to discover them. The above is the last verse in the hymn and is spoken by Saramā. I construe *r̥tena* with *avindat*, because we know (see above) that Bṛhaspati, with the Angirases, uttered spells of truth for freeing the cows.

It is also possible to construe *r̥tena* with *udyantu* or *minatih*. In the former case, pāda b would signify "Let the lowing cows come out with the (spell of) truth, that is, as soon as the spell of truth is uttered". In the latter case, *r̥tena minatih* means 'lowing with the (spell of) truth', that is, 'blending their cries with the sound of the spell of truth'; compare in this connection the observations under no. 14 above.

*r̥sayo vīprāḥ*, in d, are the Angirases.

(26) 10, 47, 6: ra saptagum r̥tadhītim sumedhām  
                             |         |         |  
                     br̥haspatim matir acchā jigāti |  
                     |         |         |  
                     ya āngiraso namasopasadyo  
                     |  
                     'smabhyam citram vṛṣaṇam rayim dāḥ ||

"Our praise goes forth to Bṛhaspati who has seven cows, uses spells of truth and is sagacious, the son of Āngiras who is to be approached with obeisance. Confer on us wealth which is strong and beautiful".

The 'seven cows' of Bṛhaspati seem to be the seven prayers (see Bergaigne, II, 145); that is, the prayers of the 'seven bards (*vīpra*)' or Angirases; see Geldner's note on 4, 50, 4 in op. cit., p. 435. Since Bṛhaspati explicitly receives the name of Āngirasa here, there is no doubt that *r̥tadhīti* has the same meaning as it has when it is used in connection with the Angirases, namely, 'he who has (*i.e.*, employs) spells of truth'; see 6, 39, 2 explained above. Pāda d is the refrain common to all the verses of this hymn.

(27) 2, 23, 3: ा विबाध्या परिरापस तमांसि का  
                  ज्योतिष्मन्तम् रथम् इत्या तिष्ठसि।  
                  ब्रह्मपते भीमाम् अमित्रादम्भनाम्  
                  रक्षोहानाम् गोत्रभिदाम् स्वर्विदाम्॥

“Driving away the evaders and darkness, thou, O Bṛhaspati, ascendest the chariot of truth, that is brilliant, terrible, that injures enemies, destroys demons, pierces mountains and wins the sun.”

The spell of truth (*rta*) by means of which Bṛhaspati overcomes the Paṇis, destroys demons, dispels darkness, rends mountains, and wins the sun, is here (by the use of Rūpa-kālamkāra) called his chariot.

The meaning of *parirāpah* (so according to the Padapāṭha; is the word really *parirāpah*?) in pāda a is not certain. Sāyaṇa explains it as *parirāpah pāpa-rūpam rakṣah...yad vā parivadato nindakān*, Grassmann as ‘humming round, humming horribly, whispering sinisterly’, HILLEBRANDT (*Lieder d. RV.* p. 26) as ‘abuse’, and LUDWIG as ‘evil-speakers’. GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) interprets it as ‘excuse’, pointing out in the note that the allied word *parirāpin* occurs in AV. 5, 7, 2 (*yām arāte purodhatse puruṣam parirāpiṇam| namaś te tasmai kṛṇmāḥ*) and 12, 4, 51 (*ye vaśyā adānāya vṛdanti parirāpiṇah| indrasya manyave jālmā ा vr̥scante acityā*), and seems to denote people who seek, by means of excuses, to evade payment of fees due to priests. I am inclined to accept this interpretation, with the substitution however, of ‘revilings’ instead of ‘excuses’; and it is my belief that *parirāpah* also means likewise ‘people who, by means of revilings, seek to evade payment of fees due to priests’. This unwillingness to pay priests is the very characteristic that distinguishes the Paṇis (see *Ved. Stud.*, 1, pp. XXIV, XXV, and 126); and thus there seems to be no doubt that it is the Paṇis who are referred to here by the word *parirāpah*.

*gotra*=mountain harbouring (*i.e.*, imprisoning) cows.

(28) 2, 24, 8: ṛtajyena kṣiprena brahmaṇaspatir  
 yatra vaṣṭi pra tad aśnoti dhanvanā|  
 tasya sādhvir iṣāvo yābhīr asyati  
 nṛcakṣaso dṛśaye karnayonayah||

"With the quick-shooting bow which has the truth for bow-string, Bṛhaspati hits wherever he likes. The arrows belonging to him, the beholder of men, with which he shoots, are excellent, and are seen to have the ears for their home".

The truth is, in this verse, compared to the string of a bow; the arrows shot with this bow (*i.e.*, the mouth) are the spells of truth which achieve all the objects that Bṛhaspati has in view. *yoni*, in *karnayoni* signifies, not 'womb' (*utpatti-sthāna*), but 'home, resting-place'.

(29) 2, 24, 2-3: yo nantvāny anaman ny ojaso-  
 tādardar manyunā śambarāṇi vi|  
 prācyāvayad ācyutā brahmaṇaspatir  
 ā cāviśad vasumantaṁ vi parvatam||  
 tad devānāṁ devatamāya kartvam  
 aśrathnan dṝlhā' vradanta vilitā|  
 ud gā ājad abhinad brahmaṇā valam  
 agūhat tamo vy acakṣayat svāḥ||

"Who, with force, bent the bendable ones, Brahmaṇaspati rent the fortresses of Śambara and others by means of a spell, shook the unshakable ones, and burst in by force into the mountain containing wealth;

"that was the work (set) for the godliest of the gods. They broke the massive ones to pieces and made weak those which were strong. By means of a spell, he (Brahmaṇaspati) drove out the cows, pierced Vala, hid the darkness, and made the sun shine".

*manyu*=*mantra* or spell; compare Sāyaṇa's explanation  
*manyunā manunā krodhena vā*. *śambarāṇi*=fortresses (*purah*) of Śambara and other demons; see Geldner's note in his *RV. Ueber* The 'wealth' contained in the mountain is, of course, the cows imprisoned in it.

In v. 3<sup>b</sup>, *aśrathnan* has been explained by all the exegetists (Sāyaṇa, GELDNER, LUDWIG, GRASSMANN) as a passive or intransitive verb. I find it difficult to subscribe to this view inasmuch as, in the RV, *śrath*, in the Parasmaipada, is always transitive and governs an object; and I have therefore construed *dṝlhā* as the object of *aśrathnan*. As subject of this verb and, perhaps, of *avradanta* also, we have to supply the word *te*, referring to the Aṅgirases. *dṝlhā* and *vīlitā* both refer to the mountains that imprisoned the cows.

The spell (*manyu*, *brahmaṇ*) mentioned in these two verses is, as we have seen above, a spell of truth.

(30) 10, 67, 5-8: vibhidyā puram śayathem apacīm  
 nis trīni sākam udadher akṛntat|  
 bṛhaspatir uṣasam suryam gām  
 arkam viveJa stanayann iva dyauḥ||  
 indro valam rakṣitāram dughānām  
 kareṇeva vi cakartā ravena|  
 svedāñjibhir āśiram icchamāno  
 'rodayat panīm ā gā amuṣūtāt||  
 sa im satyebhiḥ sakhibhiḥ śucadbhir  
 godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardah|  
 brahmaṇaspatir vṛṣabhir varāhair  
 gharmaśvedebhir draviṇām vy ā. ati||  
 te satyena manasā gopatim gā  
 iyānāsa iṣanayanta dhībhīḥ|  
 bṛhaspatir mitho-avadyapebhir  
 ud usriyā asṛjata svayugbhiḥ||

"Shattering the westward-turned fort, the lairs, Bṛhaspati cut out at the same time from the water-reservoir three things, (namely), the Dawn, the sun, the cow; he uttered the hymn loudly thundering like the sky.

"As if with a sword, Indra, with a roar, cut Vala who was keeping watch over the cows; desiring milk, he, with the sweat-adorned ones stole the cows from the Panī and made him weep.

"With the truth-speaking companions, who were effulgent and winners of wealth, he rent (the mountain) containing cows; with the strong boars, perspiring with heat, Brahmanaspati attained to the wealth.

"Desiring cows by means of a spell of truth, they shattered the watcher of cows with spells. With his companions who protected one another from sin, Bṛhaspati delivered the cows".

These verses are addressed to Bṛhaspati and refer to his rending of Vala and freeing of the cows, etc., in the company of the Aṅgirases; pādas ab of verse 6, however, speak of Indra.

In verse 5, *sāyathā* in pāda a is construed with the words of pāda b by LUDWIG who translates the two pādas as, 'als er gespalten die westliche burg, löste er mit der schneidenden waffe drei lager ausz dem meere', and observes (V. 480) that the three 'lairs' are the sky, atmosphere, and earth. GRASSMANN, on the other hand, construes *sāyathā* with *vibhidya*, which course seems to me to be correct; see OLDBERG, *RV. Noten*.

The 'three' referred to in pāda b are the Dawn, sun, and cow mentioned in c. *udadhi* 'water-reservoir' refers to the fortress of Vala in which were imprisoned, not only the cows, dawns, and the sun, but the Waters also; and it is very probable that the expression *udadher nirakṛntat* refers to the cutting of the *udadhi* itself, that is to say, to the delivery of the Waters also.

*Viveda*, in pāda d, is regarded by LUDWIG, GRASSMANN and GELDNER (*Ved. St.*, 2, p. 278) as the perfect form of the root *vid* 'to obtain' governing the objects *uṣasam*, *suryam*, *gām arkam*. According to this construction however the number of things found by Bṛhaspati is not three as represented by pāda b, but four. Moreover, among the many other passages in the RV which speak of the rending of Vala and the freeing of the cows, etc., there is not even one which refers to the finding (or winning) of a hymn; and it thus becomes clear that this construction is not satisfactory. I propose therefore to regard *viveda* as the perfect form of the root *vid* 'to know.' *Arkam viveda* is thus the equivalent of *arkam amanuta* and signifies, 'uttered a spell loudly': compare the sense which *man* has in 10

13 , 1; 4, 1, 16 and 10, 67, 2 explained above. Compare also 10, 114, 1: *vidur devāḥ sahasāmānam arkam* ‘the gods uttered loudly the *r̥k* along with the *sāman*’.

In v. 6b, *kara* is interpreted as ‘hand’ by Sāyaṇa and other expositors. The verb *vicakarta* however shows that this meaning cannot be right, and I therefore translate it as ‘sword’. Compare the words *karapattra* ‘saw’ and *karavāla* ‘small sword, dagger’ that are in use in later Sanskrit literature; compare also Ludwig’s alternative explanation of the word as ‘messer’ on V, 480. In pāda d, *rava* refers not only to the spell of truth uttered by Indra, but also to the spells uttered by his companions the Āngirases who are referred to in pāda c by the word *svedāñji* ‘sweat-adorned’.

In verse 7, I interpret *satyebhiḥ* as ‘truth-speaking’, i.e., ‘speaking spells of truth’, following Sāyaṇa’s explanation of the word as *satya-vādibhiḥ* in his commentary on this verse in TB (2, 8, 5, 1); compare also the analogous use of this word in 7, 75, 7 explained below. It is also interesting to note that Sāyaṇa there interprets *śucadbhiḥ* as *śuddhi-yuktaiḥ* that is, as *śucibhiḥ*; and one should compare in this connection the passages from the Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa and other works cited above in the explanation of 4, 1, 13-17.

*Dravīṇam* in pāda d, as also *dhana* in *dhanasaiḥ* in b, refers to the cows imprisoned in the mountain.

In verse 8, *satyena manasā=satyena mantreṇa* ‘with a spell of truth’; *gopatim* is equivalent to *rakṣitāram dughānām* in v. 6a and refers to Vala; *iṣāṇayanita=airayan*, ‘shattered’; see the explanation of AV. 6, 47, 3 given above. *Svayugbhiḥ*, in d, refers to the Āngirases.

(31) 10, 68, 6: *yadā valasya piyato jasum bhed  
bṛhaspatir agnitapobhir arkaiḥ||  
dadbhīr na jihvā parivisṭam ādad  
āvir nidhinr akṛṇod usriyānām||*

“When Bṛhaspati, with spells glowing like fire, pierced the languor of Vala, took (the herd of cows) that had been en-

closed, just as the tongue eats what has been chewed by the teeth; he brought to light the treasures of cows".

'Piercing the languor of Vala' signifies 'putting an end to the languor caused by Vala; releasing from the hold of Vala'. *arkaiḥ*=spells (of truth); compare Sāyaṇa's explanation *arcanīyaiḥ rasmibhiḥ api vā mantraiḥ* and also the explanation of GELDNER in *RV. Komm.*, p. 173. Pāda c contains a śleṣa based on the different meanings of the words *pariviṣṭam* and *ādat*. The meaning is: yathā jihvā dadbhīḥ pariviṣṭam paritah khāditam bhakṣyam ādat atti tathā bṛhaspatiḥ pariviṣṭam valena parivṛtam goyūtham ādat ādade.

(32) 10, 68, 8-9: aśnāpi naddham madhu pary apaśyan  
 matsyam na dina udani kṣiyantam|  
 niś taj jabhāra camasam na vṛkṣad|  
 bṛhaspati viraveṇā vikṛtya||  
 sośam avindat sa svāḥ so agnīm|  
 so arkeṇa vi babādhe tamāṁsi|  
 bṛhaspati govapuṣo valasya  
 nir majjānam na parvāṇo jabhāra||

"He saw the sweet thing covered with the stone just as one sees a fish dwelling in a small quantity of water (that is, a fish in shallow water). Bṛhaspati drew it out, as one does a drinking cup from the wood, after cutting it by means of a shout.

"By means of a spell, he won the Dawn, the sun, the fire; he destroyed the darkness; he took out (the herd of cows) from Vala who had imprisoned the cows in his body, as one takes out the marrow from a joint".

In verse 8, *madhu* in pāda a refers to the herd of cows. In verse 9, *govapuṣah* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *gorūpa-śarīra-sya*. GRASSMANN explains it (s. v.) similarly as 'die Gestalt der Kühe habend', and Geldner (*RV. Komm.* p. 229) as 'dessen Staat die Kühe sind oder stiergestaltig', while Bergaigne's explanation too is similar. Ludwig, on the other hand, translates the word as 'des uuf seinen kühe stolzen', and OLDENBERG (*RV. Noten*) as 'als Wundererscheinung die Kühe (bei sich, in sich)

habend'. For my part, I regard *govapuṣah* as a *vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrihi* (*gāvah* *vapuṣi* *śarīre* *yasya saḥ*) signifying 'he who holds cows within his body', i.e., 'he who encloses the cows within his self'. *Govapuṣo valasya* is thus equivalent to the expression *valasya gomataḥ* which occurs in 1, 11, 5; *tvāṁ valasya gomato pāvar adrivo bilam.*

*Viravēṇa* in v. 8 and *arkaiḥ* in v. 9 both refer to the spells (of truth) employed by Br̥haspati. It must be borne in mind that the exploit of rending the mountain and freeing the Waters, etc., was performed, not by Indra or Br̥haspati alone, but in the company of the Aṅgirases, who also uttered spells of truth on the occasion.

(33) 6, 73, 3: bṛ̥haspatih sam ajayad vasūni  
 maho vrajān gomato deva esaḥ|  
 apah siśāsan svar apratīto  
 l̥raspatir hanty amitram arkaiḥ||

"This god, Br̥haspati, won wealth, great stables full of cows. Desirous of winning the Waters, and the sun, Br̥haspati, irresistible, strikes the enemy with spells".

*arkaiḥ*=spells (of truth).

(34) 4, 50, 1: yas tastambha sahasā vi jmo antān  
 br̥haspatis triṣad hastho ravenā|  
 tam̥ pratnāsa ṛṣayo dīdhyānāḥ  
 puro viprā dadhire mandrajihvam||

"Br̥haspati, who has three abodes, and, by means of a shout, made fast in a moment the ends of the earth, him with the pleasing tongue, the ancient ṛṣis, the bards, uttering spells, placed in the front".

*Ravenā* 'by means of a shout'=by means of the utterance of a spell (of truth). *Sahasā*=all at once, in a moment; a sense which it has in later Sanskrit literature also. The 'ancient ṛṣis, the bards' are the Aṅgirases. *Dīdhyānāḥ* signifies 'uttering spells', in the same was as *dīdhiti* signifies 'hymn, spell'; compare also the analogous use of the root *man* referred to

above. *Puro dadhire*=placed in front; made leader in the utterance of spells. Compare in this connection 1, 190, 1; *anarvāṇam vṛṣabham mandrajihvam bṛhaspatim vardhayā navyam arkaḥ gāthānyah suruco yasya devā āśrīvanti nava-mānasya martāḥ* “magnify with hymns the blameless, excellent, praiseworthy Br̥haspati with pleasing tongue, whose roar when he is the leader in singing, effulgent, is heard by gods and mortals”. The epithet *gāthānī* is applied to Indra in 8, 92, 2: *puruḥūtam puruṣutam gāthānayam sanaśrutam*, and doubtless for the same reason. As already mentioned above, *aṅgirastama* or ‘chief Aṅgiras’ is one of the epithets which is applied by the poets to Br̥haspati and to Indra also.

(35) 4, 50, 4-5: bṝhaspatih prathamam jāyamāno  
 maho jyotiṣah parame vyoman|  
 saptasyas tuvijāto ravena  
 vi saptaraśmir adhamat tamāmsi||

sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvatā gaṇena  
 valam turoja phaligam ravena|  
 bṝhaspatir usriyā havyasūdah  
 kanikradad vāvaśatir ud ājat||

“Being born first in the high st of the great light, Br̥haspati who has seven mouths and seven reins, and is born many times, blew away the dark (cave) by means of a shout.

"With the singing troop, he, with a loud shout, rent the crystal enclosure of Vala; Brhaspati, roaring, drove out the lowing cows that sweeten the sacrificial offering".

*rava*, in both verses, refers to the utterance of the (spell of) truth. The ‘singing troop’ in v. 5a are the Āngirases chanting the spell of truth.

(36) 1, 62, 2-7: pra vo mahe mahi namo bharadhavam  
                  āṅgūṣyām śavasānāya sāma|  
                  yenā nah pūrve pitaraḥ padajñā|  
                  arcanto āṅgiraso gā avindan||

indrasyāṅgirasām̄ ceṣṭau  
 vidat̄ saramā tanayāya dhāsim̄  
 bṛhaspatir bhinad̄ adrim̄ vidad̄ gāḥ  
 sam̄ usriyābhīr vāavaśanta narah||

sa suṣṭubhā sa stubhā sapta vipraiḥ  
 svareṇādrim̄ svaryo navagvaiḥ|  
 saranyubhiḥ phaligam indra śakra  
 valam̄ ravena darayo daśagvaiḥ||

gr̄ṇāno aṅgiro�hir dasma vi var  
 uṣasā sūryeṇa gobhir andhah|  
 vi bhūmyā aprathaya indra sānu  
 divo raja uparam astabhāyah||

tad u prayakṣatamam asya karma  
 dasmasya cārutamam asti dāṁsah|  
 upahvare yad uparā apinvan  
 madhvvarṇaso nadyāś catasrah||

dvitā vi vavre sanaja sanile  
 ayāsyah stavamānebhīr arkaiḥ|  
 bhago na mene parame vyōmann  
 adhārayad̄ rodasi sudāṁsah||

“Offer great homage, sāman fit to be sung, to the great, mighty (Indra), with whom our ancient fathers, the Aṅgirases, knowing words and singing, won the cows.

“In the search of Indra and the Aṅgirases, Saramā found food for the progeny. Bṛhaspati rent the mountain and found the cows; the men roared with the cows.

“By means of the loud roar, he (sc. Indra), with the seven bards, the Navagvas, (found) the cows by means of a shout. O mighty Indra, with the Saranyus and Daśagvas, thou didst, by means of a shout, rend the cave of quartz.

"Singing with the Aṅgirases, O thou with magic power, thou didst open the dark (cave, and set free) the Dawn, the sun, and the cows. Thou, O Indra, didst extend the plain of the earth, and make fast the upper world of the sky.

"That is his most praiseworthy deed, that the most beautiful miracle, of the possessor of magic power, namely, that he caused the four upper rivers which were flowing with honey, to swell in their (prison) fortress.

"Ayāsyā, with songs of praise, did again discover the two ancient ones that have the same nest. He, the possessor of magic power, supported the earth and the sky in the highest heaven, in the same way as a rich person supports his two wives".

Hymn 1, 62 is addressed to Indra, and the above verses describe his rending of the mountain, and the freeing of the cows, etc., in company with the Aṅgirases, Saramā, and Bṛhaspati.

*padajñāḥ*, in verse 2, is explained as 'knowers of the path' by Sāyaṇī, GELDNER, and others, an explanation which also fits the context here. Similarly, Sāyaṇī explains *iṣṭi*, in verse 3, as *preṣṇā*, and relates a story according to which, Indra sent the divine dog Saramā to find out the place where the cows were hidden, promising her that, in return, he would give the milk of the cows to her progeny. Sāyaṇī and Geldner therefore interpret the word *tanayāya* in v. 3b as referring to the progeny of Saramā. It seems to me better however to understand the word as referring to the progeny of Manu, that is, to the tribes of men; compare 1, 72, 8 explained above. Compare also 1, 96, 4: *sa mātariśvā puruvārapuṣṭir vidad gātum tanayāya svarvit* where *tanayāya* refers (as pointed out by Geldner in his note in (*RV. Ueber.*) to *manūnām prajāḥ* (i.e., men) mentioned in the preceding verse but one, *sa pūrvayā nividā kavyatāyor imāḥ prajā ajanayan manūnām*.

*narah*, in pāda d, refers to the Aṅgirases; regarding the expression *sam usriyābhīr vāvaśanta narah*, see the explanation of 4, 3, 11 given above.

In verse 4, GELDNER supplies, on the analogy of 4, 50, 5, the word *gaṇena* after the word *sustubhā*. This *sustubhā gaṇa*, according to him, consists of (1) the seven bards, (2) the Navagvas (3) Saranyus, and (4) the Daśagvas; and the synonyms *stubhā*, *svareṇa* and *raveṇa* in pādas abd, as also the synonyms *adrim*, *phaligam* and *valam* are construed by him, respectively with one each of the instrumental plurals. He thus translates the verse as: "Du sprengtest mit der schmetternden (Schar), du unter schmetterndem Ton mit den sieben Redegewaltigen, laut mit lauter Stimme (im Bunde) mit den Navava's den Fels, mit den Saranyu's den Phaliga, O mächtiger Indra, untea Geschrei den Vala (im Bunde) mit den Dasavya's". All this appears unconvincing, especially, since *phaliga* is not a proper name as GELDNER thinks, but signifies 'sphaṭika, rock crystal or quartz' (see *Indian Ant.*, LV1, p. 136 ff.)

In verse 5, *grñānah* is regarded (by Sāyaṇa, GELDNER and others) as having a passive sense, and equivalent to *stūyamāna*. Now it is quite true that the expression *aṅgirobhīr grñānah* does signify in many verses, 'being praised by the Aṅgirases; but *grñānah*, in form, is an active participle, and the active meaning, 'praising with the Aṅgirases', it must be noted, suits the context here.

*upahvara*, in verse 6, signifies 'durga, fatness, (prison) fortress', and *upahvare apinvat* 'caused to swell in the fortress' seems to be equivalent to 'caused to overflow the bounds of the fortress; released from prison'.

In verse 7, *stavamānebhīḥ* seems to be used for *stavamānah*, and the instrumental plural seems to be due to the proximity of the word *arkaiḥ*. Or, should we supply a word like *naraīḥ* (this is what Sāyaṇa does), or *aṅgirobhīḥ*, etc., after it, and translate, "By means of chants, Ayāsyā, with the praising Aṅgirases, discovered again the two ancient ones that have the same nest"? The 'two ancient ones' are *rodasi*, earth and sky, mentioned in pāda d; and Ayāsyā, is probably identical with Br̥haspati (see GELDNER'S note in *RV. Ueber.*).

The comparison in pāda c is not very clear: the meaning of pādas cd seems to be, 'He maintained earth and sky in the

highest heaven, as a rich man maintains his two wives in the highest state of comfort'.

*Vāvaśanta* (v. 3d), *stubhā*, *svareṇa* and *ravēṇa* (v. 4), *grṇānāḥ* (v. 5a), and *stavamānebhīr arkaiḥ* (v. 7) all refer to the utterance of spells of truth.

It will be noted that these verses mention, in connection with the Vala myth, not only the rending of the mountain and the freeing of the cows, Dawn, sun and rivers, but also the making fast of the earth and the sky.

(37) 4, 16, 6: viśvāni śakro naryāṇi vidvān  
                             apo rireca sakhibhir nikāmaiḥ|  
                             aśmānam cid ye bibhidur vacobbir  
                             vrajam gomantam uṣijo vi vavruh||

"The mighty (Indra) who knows all (acts) of men emptied the Waters with his loving companions, the Uṣis, who split even the rock by means of their spells and opened the stalls containing cows".

Concerning the epithet *naryāṇi vidvān*, compare 7, 21, 4:  
 bhīmo viveśāyudhebhīr eṣām apāṁsi viśvā naryāṇi vidvān|  
 īndraḥ puro jarhṛṣāṇo vi dūdhod vi vajrahasto mahinā jaghāna  
 "The terrible one, who knows all the acts of these (men), accomplished them with his weapons. Indra hurls away the fortresses (of the enemies) with joy; with Vajra in his hand, he struck with might".

The 'loving companions' are the Aṅgirases, and their 'spells', spells of truth.

(38) 6, 65, 5: idā hi ta uṣo adrīsāno  
                             gotrā gavām aṅgiraso grṇanti|  
                             vy arkeṇa bibhidur brahmaṇā ca  
                             satyā nṛṇām abhavad devahūtiḥ||

"Here, O Uṣas resting on the back of the mountain, the Aṅgirases sung (towards) the mountains containing the cows; they have, by means of a spell, a magic formula, split them open. The men's invocation of the gods has borne fruit".

Regarding *gotrā gr̄ṇanti*, compare the expression *bṛhaspatir abhikanikradad gāḥ* in 10, 67, 3 explained above. *gr̄ṇanti*, *arkena brahmaṇā* all refer to the spells of truth employed by the Aṅgirases.

Hymn 6, 65 is addressed to Uṣas, and the poet's mention of her in this verse with the Aṅgirases indicates that she too was associated with them in the rending of the mountain-fort and the freeing of the cows, etc. See in this connection the observations under 7, 75, 7 explained below.

(39) 32, 3-4: sa mātarā sūryenā kavīnām  
 avāsayad rujad adrim gr̄ṇānah|  
 svādhībhīr ṛkvabhir vāvaśāna  
 ud usriyāñām asr̄jan nidānam||  
 sa vahnibhir ṛkvabhir goṣu śāsvan  
 mitajñubhiḥ purukrtvā jigāya|  
 purah purohā sakhibhiḥ sakhiyan  
 dṝḥā ruroja kavibhiḥ kaviḥ san||

"For the sake of the poets, he (sc. Indra), chanting, made the sun shine on the two parents (i.e., earth and sky) (after) he rent the mountain. With the pure-minded singing ones, he, roaring, unloosed the bonds of the cows.

"He, the doer of many deeds, conquered with the priests who were singing towards the cows and often bent their knees. Desiring friendship, with the friends, a poet, with the poets, and destroyer of forts, he shattered the solid forts."

I follow Sāyaṇa in interpreting *kavīnām*, in verse 2a, as *kavīnām arthāya*. GRASSMANN construes it with *mātarā* and translates as 'the parents of the wise god', while Ludwig translates 'he, among the wise ones, that is, the Aṅgirases among the wise ones.'

The epithets *kavīnām*, *svādhībhīr ṛkvabhiḥ* in verse 2, and *vahnibhir ṛkvabhiḥ*, *sakhibhiḥ* and *kavibhiḥ* in v. 3 all refer to the Aṅgirases and their utterance of spells of truth, while the words *gr̄ṇānah*, *vāvaśānah* in v. 2, and *kaviḥ* in v. 3 refer to Indra's utterance of such spells.

(40) 10, 112, 8-9: prā<sup>॥</sup> ta indra p ūrvyāñi pra<sup>॥</sup> nūnām  
 viryā<sup>॥</sup> vocam<sup>॥</sup> prathamā<sup>॥</sup> kṛtāñi<sup>॥</sup>  
 satīnamanyur<sup>॥</sup> aśrathāyo<sup>॥</sup> adrim<sup>॥</sup>  
 suvedanām<sup>॥</sup> akṛṇor<sup>॥</sup> brahmaṇe<sup>॥</sup> gām<sup>॥</sup>  
 ni<sup>॥</sup> śu<sup>॥</sup> sīda<sup>॥</sup> gaṇapate<sup>॥</sup> gaṇeṣu<sup>॥</sup>  
 tvam<sup>॥</sup> āhur<sup>॥</sup> vīpratamam<sup>॥</sup> kavīnām<sup>॥</sup>  
 na<sup>॥</sup> ṣte<sup>॥</sup> tvat<sup>॥</sup> kriyate<sup>॥</sup> kiṁ<sup>॥</sup> canare<sup>॥</sup>  
 mahām<sup>॥</sup> arkam<sup>॥</sup> maghavan<sup>॥</sup> citram<sup>॥</sup> arca<sup>॥</sup>

"I have praised, O Indra, thy ancient valiant deeds and those of recent times, and the deeds performed formerly. Having (i.e., employing) spells of truth, thou didst shatter the mountain and madest the cow easily attainable to the priest.

"Sit with the troop, O master of the troop; they call thee the most inspired among the poets. Without thee, nothing is done (even) at a distance. Sing, O bountiful giver, the great beautiful song".

In verse 8, *viryā<sup>॥</sup> nūnām* means 'the valiant deeds performed by thee in recent times'. *satīnamanyuh=satyamantraḥ*, employer of spells of truth. In pāda d, *brahmaṇe* and *gām* are both used with the force of the plural (*jātāv ekavacanam*) and refer respectively to the Aṅgirases and the cows imprisoned in the mountain.

In verse 9, the 'troop' is the troop of the Aṅgirases, and *vīpratamam<sup>॥</sup> kavīnām* is synonymous with *aṅgirasām<sup>॥</sup> aṅgirastamam<sup>॥</sup>*. In d, *arka<sup>॥</sup>* refers to the spell of truth (cp. *satīnamanyuh* of the preceding verse) employed by Indra.

(41) 10, 47, 4: sanadvājām<sup>॥</sup> vīpravīram<sup>॥</sup> tarutram<sup>॥</sup>  
 dhanasṛtam<sup>॥</sup> śūśvāmsam<sup>॥</sup> sudakṣam<sup>॥</sup>  
 dasyuhanam<sup>॥</sup> pūrbhidam<sup>॥</sup> indra satyam<sup>॥</sup>  
 asmabhyam<sup>॥</sup> citram<sup>॥</sup> vṛṣaṇam<sup>॥</sup> rayim<sup>॥</sup> dāḥ<sup>॥</sup>

"(We know thee as) the winner of booty, sung by priests, conqueror, winner of prizes, strong, highly skilled, destroyer of demons, shatterer of forts, performer of acts of truth, O Indra, Confer on us wealth that is beautiful and excellent".

Pāda d is the refrain that occurs at the end of all the verses of this hymn. Sāyaṇa and LUDWIG construe the epithets in abc (*sanadvājam* etc.) with *rayim* in d, and make one sentence of the verse. It seems to me however that it is hardly likely that *dasyuhanam* and *pūrbhidam* can be epithets of *rayim*; and I therefore supply here the words *vidmā hi tvā* from v. 1 of this hymn, in the same way as Sāyaṇa has done in the case of v. 2. *satyam*=speaker of (spells of) truth, or performer of (acts of) truth; compare Sāyaṇa's explanation *satyam satya-karmāṇam*. The proximity of the word *dasyuhanam* and *pūrbhidam* shows that the reference is to the spells of truth employed by Indra for shattering the forts of Vala, Sambara and other demons, and for destroying them.

((42) 3, 39, 4-5: nakir eṣāṁ ninditā martyeṣu  
 ye asmākam pitaro goṣu yodhāḥ  
 indra eṣāṁ ḍṝmhitā māhināvān  
 ud gotrāṇī sasṛje dāmsanāvān||  
 sakhaḥ ha yatra sakhibhir navagvair  
 abhijñvā satvabhir gā anugmanī  
 satyam tād indro daśabhir daśagvaiḥ  
 sūryam viveda tamasi kṣiyantam||

"None among the mortals blames our fathers who became fighters for the sake of the cows. For their sake, the mighty Indra, possessor of magic power, freed (the cows imprisoned in) the solid mountains.

"When the friend with the friends, Navagvas, as soldiers, went on knees after the cows, Indra found—that was an act of truth—with the ten Daśagvas the sun staying in the dark (cave)."

In v. 5c, *satyam tat* is clearly parenthetical and is so regarded by GRASSMANN, LUDWIG and GELDNER who translate it as 'this is true'. Since we know that Indra's release of the cows and of the sun was due to the spells of truth pronounced by him, it seems preferable to translate the expression here as

'that was an act of truth', that is, 'that was the result of thy act of truth'. Compare 4, 22, 6 explained below.

(43) 4, 22, 6: tā tū te satyā tuvinṛmṇa viśvā  
                   pra dhenavah sisrate vṛṣṇa udhnāḥ|  
                   adhā ha tvad vṛṣamano bhiyānāḥ|  
                   pra sindhavo javasā cakramanta||

"All these are (thy) acts of truth, O thou most valiant; the milch-cows come forth from the udder of the bull. Being then afraid of thee, O thou with excellent spells, the rivers sped away quickly".

'From the udder of the bull' = 'from within the imprisoning mountain', *manas*, in *vṛṣamanas*, signifies 'spell (of truth)'.

(44) 4, 28, 5: evā satyam maghavānā yuvam tad  
                   indraś ca somorvam aśvyam goḥ|  
                   ādardṛtam apihitāny āsnā  
                   rīricathuh kṣāś cit tātṛdānā||

"Thus was that act of truth, O ye two bountiful givers, when you, O Soma, and Indra shattered the caves of the horses and cows that had been closed with a stone, and emptied them, breaking up the earths"

*(To be continued)*

THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRIYA  
PRĀTIŚĀKHYA

BY

C. R. SANKARAN,  
*Poona.*

(Continued from page 89 Vol. XIV)

The seven notes that form a *saptaka*, or 'cluster of seven' in Sāman music go by the following names *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *Dvitiya*, *tṛtiya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atīsvārya*.

कृष्टप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रानिस्वार्याः

(Taittiriya Prātiśākhya xxiii, 12.)

[For the ordinary names of the seven notes of the Indian scale, or *svaras*, see Jones, "On the Musical Modes of the Hindu," Asiatic Researches., Vol. iii, p. 68, Weber's Indischen Studien, Das Chandassūtram des Pingala Vol. viii, 259.]

सप्तस्वराये यमास्ते

(Rk Prātiśākhya XIII, 44) Benares Sanskrit Series).

Uvaṭa's comment on it is as follows:—

ये सप्तस्वराः पङ्गजकृष्टम्—गांधारादयो गांधर्ववेदे समाप्नाताः । तथा सामयु । कृष्टप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थ मन्द्रानिस्वार्याः इति ते यमा नाम वेदितव्याः ॥

[Cf. Muller's Rk Prātiśākhya, p. cclxxii. Note that according to Uvaṭa, the reading is *kruṣṭa*, and not *kṛṣṭa* which reading we find in the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya, xxiii, 14.

द्वितीयप्रथमकृष्टास्त्रय आहारकस्वराः

(Whitney's edition) Muller, l.c., p. cclxxiii, gives another reading *kuṣṭa* also.]

There can be no two opinion on the fact that the Sāman scale was a downward series which is the characteristic of all primitive music (cf. Music through the Ages by Marion Bauer and Ethel R. Peyser, chapter II, Music of Primitive Man, p. 9.)

कृष्टादयः उत्तरोत्तरं नीचाभवन्ति

[Quoted in Lakshmana Srauti's edition of Sāmaveda Samhitā Veyagāna Sāmasvaranirṇayah page 1. A manuscript of Sāmatantra is available in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library Madras. Vide also Burnell's Catalogue of a collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts Part I, Vedic Manuscripts, page 40.]

कुष्टस्य मूर्धनिस्थानं ललटे प्रथमस्य तु ।  
भुवोर्मध्ये द्वितीयस्य तृतीयस्य च कर्णयोः ॥  
कण्ठस्थानं चतुर्थस्य मन्द्रस्योरसि तच्यते ।  
अतिस्वारस्य नीचस्य द्विदिस्थानं विधीयते ॥

(Nārada Sīkṣā I, 7, verses 1 and 2.)

[The same stanzas occur in a corrupt form in Bharata-bhāṣya also, page 16.]

Now the question is to what *svaras* of the secular scale do *krusta*, etc., correspond. We find the following verses in the Nārada Sīkṣā which attempt to answer this question.

यः सामगानं प्रथमः स वेगोर्मध्यमः स्वरः ।  
यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारः तृतीयत्त्वष्ट्रभः स्मृतः ॥  
चतुर्थषट्ज इत्यादुः पञ्चगो धैवतो भवेत् ।  
षष्ठोनिषादे विह्वेयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ॥

(Vide Nārada Sīkṣā I, 5, verses 1 and 2.)

From the above quoted verses, it is clear that कुष्ट, प्रथम, द्वितीय, तृतीय, चतुर्थ, मन्द्र and आतिस्वार्य correspond respectively to प, म, ग, रि, स, ध, नि in the language of modern notations (Does the order of *svaras* पमगरि साधनि indicate that there was बक्रगति in the Sāman mode of singing?).

In this connection it has to be remembered that the *gāyatri-gāna* which is the most important in the sāma-chant begins with the Madhyama note ["All the sāmans of the morning service were to be sung in the gāyatra-melody, and this may be taken to be known. The Vedic student begins with this melody, composed in the Sāvitri metre (Tat Savitur Varenyam etc), and it is imparted in the Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇa, while it is found as appendix to the edition of the grāma-geyagāṇa (among the Jaiminiyas after the Āranyagāṇa) "Vide W. Caland. De Wording Van den Sāma Veda Verslagen en Mededeelingen Der Koninklijke Akademie Van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling Letter kunde Vier de Reeks

Negende Deel. Amsterdam johannes Müller (1909) page 5. See the English translation of this article by Prof. K. Nilakantha Sāstri in J. O. R. M. Vol. IX Pt. iv, page 298. Vide also p. 5 of Indische Forschungen 2 Heft Die jaiminiya Sanhitā miteiner Einleitung über die Sāma Veda literatur Von Dr. W. Caland (1907).] Commenting on the following verse of the Bharata Nātya Sāstra (Kāvyamāla edition chapter 30, verse 2, p. 329.)

द्विक्त्रिकचतुष्कास्तु ज्ञेयावंशगता स्वराः ।

कृष्मानार्धमुक्ताक्षं व्यक्तमुक्तास्तथैव च ॥

Abhinavagupta says in his Abhinava Bharati

यद्यपि न भूषट्शुभक्मोऽयं उक्तः तथापि षड्जस्य चतुः श्रुतित्वा-  
मध्यमत्वं न प्रत्यभिज्ञातम् ॥

(Abhinava Bhārati) Paper Manuscript in Devanāgari Script R 2774 I. 33-13 11×9½ Volume 4, page 60. The whole passsage is corrupt) What precedes this is the following:—

तत्र (वंशे) गान्धारादित्या मध्यमस्वरो अन्त्यो भवति ।

तदपेक्षया (मध्यमे प्रथमेक्ते) गान्धारो द्वितीय(ः) द्वितीयन्तत एव च  
(द्वितीयस्त्वर एव स) सामस्त (स्थ) गान्धारः मध्यमो हि तत्र प्रथमः ।  
आहच—यः सामगानात् (नां) प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः—इति<sup>1</sup>

Evidently भूषट्शुभक्म is a corruption and Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi suggests to me the following reading. The readings of the manuscript in his possession vary from the readings of the manuscript in the Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

यद्यपि च न कुष्टादिषु श्रुतिक्लिमो युक्तः तथापि षड्जस्य चतुः श्रुतित्वात्  
मध्यमत्वेन प्रत्यभिज्ञानम्

The meaning now is clear. If any one asks why Abhinavagupta speaks of the मध्यमग्राम only and not of प्रद्वजग्राम, the answer is:—

“It is only उपलक्षण. What applies to मध्यमग्राम can equally apply to प्रद्वजग्राम for प्रद्वज and मध्यम have four śruti-s for each (although the ancient sāman music knew no श्रुतिविभाग). By saying मध्यम, प्रद्वज can also be implied.” (In this connection it is

1. The readings put here within brackets are those suggested by Dr. V. Raghavan and Mr. P. S. Sundaram Aiyar of Tanjore.

good to remember that गान्धारग्राम is sung in प्रातःस्वन and in माध्याह्न and in सायंस्वन, षड्जग्राम is sung, while मध्यमग्राम is sung in all the three स्वनैs.)]

Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer formerly thought<sup>1</sup> that there is a slip or misprint in the last of the two stanzas beginning with यः सामगानांप्रथमः etc. He would have them read as follows:

चतुर्थषड्ज इत्याहुः निषादः पञ्चमो भवेत् षष्ठस्तु धैवतो ज्ञेय

सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ।

(Introduction to Somanāth's Rāgavibodha page 30. In fact, in the Bharatabhāṣya itself we read निषादःपञ्चमः स्मृतः page 22) He takes also the line यः सामगानां प्रथमः स्वेणोमध्यमः स्वरः to mean यः सामगानां क्रुष्टो नाम प्रथमः etc., and not यः सामगानां प्रथमाख्यः

स वेणोमध्यमः स्वरः; the latter interpretation seems to me obviously a more natural and straightforward one (See Mr. Sankaranarayanan's article in the cultural supplement of Dharmarājya 2nd June 1934. Also Madras Music Academy Journal, Vol. IV p. 150 ff.)

Perhaps Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer has been led to this view by what Mr. H. A. Popley says on page 30 of the Music of India. But Mr. Popley does not furnish us definite data for his equation of *krusta*, etc., with *Madhyama*, etc.

On the other hand, my interpretation seems to gain additional strength by the following bit in नारदीयशिक्षाविवरण of भट्टश्रीभास्कर—क्रष्टः उच्चः, मध्यमः प्रथमः स्वरः

(Vide Usā edition of Naradā Śikṣā page 397).

[See also the following :—

वैदिकेतु पञ्चमनिषादानां काचिदेव भवेत् Nārada Śikṣā. Commentary. Benares Sanskrit Series, page 410.]

In fact, there seems to be no possibility of shaking the conclusion I have reached in view of the following stanzas of the Nārada Śikṣā too

अङ्गुष्ठस्योत्तमे क्रुष्टोऽद्यङ्गुष्ठे प्रथमः स्वरः ।

प्रादेशिन्यां तु गान्धारः क्रत्प्रस्तदनन्तरम् ॥

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1. Since writing this paper I have come to know that he has changed this view.

अनामिकायां षडजस्तु कनिष्ठिकायांच धैवतः ।  
तस्याधस्ताच्योऽन्यस्य निषादं तत्रविन्यसेत् ॥

Nārada Śikṣā. I, 7, verses 3 and 4.

In the above verses, the practice of *Kauthuna-Sāma Vedin* in the meter of the movements of the fingers to indicate the notes of the Sāman, is described. To mark the notes in the way mentioned in this verse, the fingers must be bent slightly towards the thumb, which is made to touch the part indicated as each note is uttered.

A string of similar verses occurring in Śabāpati's Dhāraṇa-lakṣaṇa (quoted by Burnell in his introduction to the *jaiminīya* text of *Ārṣeyabrahmaṇa*, page XV) if rightly understood only goes to support my view. The verses in question describe the practice of *Jaiminīya Sāma Vedin* in the meter of the movements of the fingers to indicate the notes of the Saman. The verses read:—

क्रुष्टेऽप्यङ्गुष्ठतर्जन्योऽग्रसंक्लेशमेव च ।  
अङ्गुष्ठस्य शिरः स्थानः प्रथमत्वरः उच्यते ॥  
तर्जनीमूलसंस्पर्शः द्वितीयस्वर उच्यते ।  
तृतीयो मध्यमामूलश्चतुर्थास्याधोङ्गुले:<sup>1</sup>  
मन्दं कनिष्ठिकामूलं स्वारमाप्राद् विमर्शनम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
एवं दक्षिण हस्ते स्युर्नासिकाग्रपुरः स्थिते ।  
गोकर्णसदृशो पाणी स्वराः सप्रदर्शिताः ।

Now to fix correctly the svaras in सामगान with reference to श्रुतिः, we have to take into consideration the following verses from the Nārada Śikṣā:—

(To be continued)

1. The metre in the last pāda is defective. The correct reading would be चतुर्थः स्यादधोऽङ्गुले: ।

2. Evidently there is corruption here. My friend Dr. V. Raghavan reconstructs the line thus:—

मन्दं कनिष्ठिकामूलोऽतिस्वार्थोऽग्रविमर्शनम् ॥

## ॥ श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा\* ॥

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“तापिञ्छस्तवकत्विषे ततुभृतां दारिद्र्मुद्गाद्विषे  
संसाराख्यतमोमुषे पुररिपोर्वामाङ्कसीमाजुषे ।  
कम्पातीरमुपेयुषे कवयतां जिह्वाकुटीं जगमुषे  
विश्वत्राणपुषे नमोऽस्तु सततं तस्मै परञ्योतिषे” ॥  
ओं काव्यकलने समाधिःपरं कवेव्याप्रियते ।  
सुसमाहितं हि स्वान्तमर्थान्पश्यति । तदुक्तमभियुक्तैः—  
सारस्वतं किमपि तत्सुमहारहस्यं  
यद्गौचरे च विदुषां निपुणैकसेव्यम् ।  
तत्सिद्धये परमयं परमोभ्युपायः  
यज्ञेतसो विदितवेदविधेस्समाधिः ॥

समाधिश्च कवितां कलयति; काव्यशक्तिमुत्पादयति, सन्धुक्षयति, उद्घासयति  
च, येन प्रतिभा उल्लास्यतेरतराम् । नह्यप्रतिभः कश्चित् कर्विवाति । या च  
श्रोत्रपेयं शब्दग्रामम्, रमणीयमर्थसार्थम्, उज्ज्वलमलङ्कारपथम्, ऊर्जस्वलमुक्ति-  
तन्त्रम्, अपरमपि सरसमेवंविधमधिहृदयं स्वैरं प्रतिभासयति, सैव प्रतिभा, यथा  
मूकोऽपि महाकविसरण्यां जाज्वलीति ॥

रससर्वस्वभूते हि सौन्दर्ये, त्रिलोकसौन्दर्ये, श्रीमूकमनस्समाहितम् ;  
'त्रिलोकसौन्दर्यमिवेदितम्' जगद्म्बावपुः । ननु सौन्दर्यं नाम अखण्डम्, यत्किञ्चि-  
द्वूपरहितम्, एवंपददूरम् ; कथमिदं समाधिविषयतया गृह्णेत ? कीर्तयति च कविः,  
'दूरं वाचाम्', 'एवंपददूरमेकमवलम्बे', इत्येत्रमादि । तच्च वाङ्मनसातीतं तत्त्वं कथं

\* Substance of a Sanskrit lecture delivered under the auspices of the Madras Samskrta Academy on the Sri Müka Kavi Day, (Mahāśivarātri) 24th February, 1941.

वा वर्णेत्, वर्णितं वा चले मनसि कथं लगेत् ? सत्यम् ; अतएव कविरत्र  
सुलभतया सौन्दर्याभिसम्पत्त्यर्थं वपुर्विशेषं तस्य सर्वेन्द्रियमोहनं कल्यतिराम्,  
येन च निर्दुष्टं काव्यं सैन्दर्यलीलाकरतया अनुभूयतेतमाम् रसिकवृन्दैः ॥

आर्याशतके अखण्डमिदमान्नायरहस्यं त्रिलोकसौन्दर्यं वपुर्विशेषकलना-  
पुरस्सरं योगियेयमधिकाङ्गि कामपीठगतं परशिववामाङ्गपीठिकासीनमधिकाङ्गित-  
मणिकाङ्गनकाङ्गि अधिहृदयं तन्यते—

### कारणपरचिद्रूपा

काङ्गीपुरसीग्नि कामपीठगता ।

काचन विहरति करुणा

काश्मीरस्तबककोमलाङ्गलता ॥

अधिकाङ्गि वर्धमानां

अतुलां करवाणि पारणामक्षणोः ।

आनन्दपाकभेदां

अरुणिमपरिणामगर्वपल्लविताम् ॥

(अक्षणोरिति सर्वेन्द्रियाणामुपलक्षणम् )

अङ्गितशङ्करदेहां

अङ्गुरितोरोजकङ्गणाङ्गेषैः ।

अधिकाङ्गि नित्यतरुणां

अद्राक्षं काङ्गिददूसुतां बालाम् ॥

‘त्रपुर्विशेषोष्ठातिगौरवाः क्रियाः’ ; पश्यतात्र वपुर्विशेषकलनाचातुरीम् ;

कुटिलकचं कठिनकुचं

कुन्दस्मितकान्ति कुङ्कुमच्छायम् ।

कुरुते विहृतिं काञ्च्यां

कुलपर्वतसार्वभौमसर्वस्वम् ॥

तदेवं निर्वेदनिष्टसे सन्तापचिन्तातते भवकान्तारे धावं धावं नैराश्या-  
दन्ततः पतनशीलानि इन्द्रियाणि अन्तर्मुखं समावर्ज्य, सौन्दर्यसारघटिते  
श्रीकामाक्षीनामधेये तत्त्वे निष्ठां लभयति महाकविः । सर्वमेतत् योगमार्ग-  
मार्मिकाणाम्, सैन्दर्यसाररसिकानां महाकवीनाम्, तत्र माघतां धीमतां सद्वदयानां  
च सुगममेवेति विस्तरेणालम् ॥

सौन्दर्येकतानो हि श्रीमूककविः पुंस्कोकिल इव वसन्ते श्रुतिमधुरं वाचालीभवति । भक्तिविषयं च सौन्दर्यं बाड्मपवेनापि ध्यायं ध्यायं मधुरं नदति । श्रीविद्या हि जगदम्बा । तत्प्रयुक्ता तु श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा अनित-रसाधारणीं काव्यसुषमामावहति । स्वानुभूतिमपि कवित्र प्रकटयति —

धन्या धन्या गतिरिह गिरां देवि कामाक्षि ! का मे  
निन्द्यां भिन्द्यात् सपदि जडतं कल्मषादुनिषन्तीम् ।  
साध्वी माध्वीरसमधुरताभञ्जिनीं मञ्जुरीति-  
वाणीवेणी झटिति वृणुतात्स्वर्वुनीस्पर्धिनीं माम् ॥

धन्या = धनितुं योग्या, अर्जयितुमहेति यावत्, धन्या = संस्कृता, अतएव निर्दुष्टा का गतिः, इह मे गिरां, हे कामाक्षि ! जडतां भिन्द्यात् ? आक्षेपे 'किम्' । न कापि मम वाग्जडताभञ्जनायालमिल्येत् । अतः वाणीवेणी सुरधुनीनीकाशा शिवा वाग्वैखरी सकलकल्मषापहन्त्री झटिति मां वृणुतात् । युरुकुलक्षेशादिनाद्यधिगतो वाग्विलासः महतीं मे जडतां व्यपोहितुं नैवालम्, अतः श्रीविद्या जगदम्बा मां कटाक्षयतु ; यस्याक्षि शीतलकटाक्षपातः

यस्मिन्नम्ब ! भवत्कटाक्षरजनीं मन्देऽपि मन्दस्मित-  
ज्योत्स्नासंस्नपिता भवत्यभिमुखीं तं प्रस्थहो देहिनम् ।  
द्राक्षामाक्षिकमाधुरीमदभरत्रीडाकरी वैखरी  
कामाक्षि ! स्वयमातनोत्यभिसृतिं वामेक्षणेऽक्षणात् ॥

अम्ब ! मन्दस्मितज्योत्स्नासंस्नपिताः शीतलास्ते कटाक्षाः यस्मिन् पतन्ति, वराको वा भवतु स मादशाः, तं कृतकृत्यं क्षणात् सुकविताकामिनी बलगुवाग्वा-मेक्षणेऽव कानं सरसोळासैः, अभिसरति अभिसारयति वा । कल्यन्त्वत्र महाकविभक्तिसुषमाम् आर्याः ! इतरस्तु भक्तः, अम्बिकाया अपदानानि अणिमादि-सिद्धीश्व औपदेशिक इव आवेशिक इव च स्तौति, काकवन्ध्यः कदलीवन्ध्यो वा भवत्यन्ततः । अयं पुनः सरसगधुरं कुरुते भक्तिम्, येन अम्बा भावुकानां मनस्यञ्जसा निष्ठां लभते । यथा कुमारसम्भवेन, यथा वा श्रीमूकपञ्चशत्या भावुकमनः अम्बिकोन्मुखं भवति, न तथा स्तोत्रान्तरैः उपासनान्तरेण वेति अहो महाकविभक्तिसुषमा ! ॥

कल्यन्तु पद्धरत्नमिदं हृदि भावुकाः, तत्र च अनितरसाधारणीं कविभक्तिधोरणीम् :—

चन्द्रापीडां चतुरवदनां चञ्चलापाङ्गलीलां  
 कुन्दस्मेरां कुचभरनतां कुन्तलोद्भूतभृङ्गाम् ।  
 मारारातेमदनशिखिनं मांसलं दीपयन्तीं  
 कामाक्षीं तां कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्लीमुपासे ॥

चन्द्रापीडामित्यारभ्य कुन्तलोद्भूतभृङ्गामित्यन्तेन आर्याः अनाधेयातिशयं सौन्दर्थम्, मारारातेः मदनशिखिनं मांसलं दीपयन्तीमित्यनेन तस्या: भावैकरसं पारमैशं च मनः व्यञ्जयित्वा, तद्द्वारीकृत्य च मारारातेरपि मांसलो मदनशिखीतिलोकोत्तरशृङ्गारतः हासध्वनिं च अनुप्राससुक्षिष्ठं श्रोत्रपेयं हृदयंगमं च तनोत्ययं कविः । अतएव च कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्लयाः ध्यानमप्यत्रान्यत्र च,

जम्भारातिप्रभृतिमुकुटीः पादयोः पीठयन्ती  
 गुम्फान्याचां कविजनकृतान्स्वैरमारामयन्ती ।  
 शम्पालक्ष्मीं मणिगणरुचां पाटलैः प्रापयन्ती  
 कम्पातीरे कविपरिषदां जृम्भते भाग्यसीमा ॥

एवं तत्र तत्र कविभक्तिसुषमैव ‘कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्ली’, ‘कविपरिषदां भाग्यसीमा’, ‘सीमाशून्यकवित्वर्षजननी’ ‘कामधेनुः कवीनाम्’, इत्येवमादि पदनिकुरुम्बं स्वैरमङ्गूरयति ।

कल्यन्तवार्याः कविभक्तिमन्त्र—

कान्तैः केशरुचां चैयर्थमरितं मन्दस्मितैः पुष्पितं  
 कान्त्या पल्लवितं पदाम्बुरहयोर्नेत्रित्विषा पत्रितम् ।  
 कम्पातीरवनान्तरं विदघतो कल्याणजन्मस्थली  
 काञ्छीमध्यमहामणिर्विजयते काचित्कृपाकन्दली ॥

सारिषेषु कम्पानदीतेरेषु कृपाकन्दली श्रीकामाक्षी सर्वमङ्गला शरणागतजनतावनप्रवणा राजते । कल्याणमत्र फलम् । कन्दली च वर्षासु वनस्थलीषु स्वैरमात्मानमङ्गूरयति । कृपया चेयं कन्दली कम्पातटे जृम्भते । वनकन्दली च नैव फलिनी । कृपाकन्दली पुनरियं कल्याणजन्मस्थलीति व्यतिरेकविशेषः । कल्यन्तु च सहदयाः बहुविधमुल्लेखान्—

स्यामा काचन चन्द्रिका त्रिभुवने, पुण्यात्मनामानने  
 सीमाशून्यकवित्वर्षजननी या कापि कादम्बिनी ।

मारारातिमनोविमोहनविधौ काचित्तमःकन्दली  
कामाद्याः करुणाकटाक्षलहरी कामाय मे कल्पताम् ॥

अन्यत्र—

या तुङ्गस्तनमण्डलेपरि लस्त्कर्षूरलेपायते  
या नीलेक्षणात्रिकान्तितिषु ज्योत्स्नाप्रोहायते ।  
या सौन्दर्यधुनीतरङ्गतिषु व्यालोलहंसायते  
कामाक्ष्याः शिशिरीकरोतु ददयं सा मे स्मितप्राचुरी ॥

अभिका च अच्छिन्ना अमलसन्ताना च सौन्दर्यसरित् इति स्वारस्यमत्र  
संपूर्णम् । अभिकामेकत्र कृपाकन्दलीत्वेन, अन्यत्र कविताकल्पवल्लीत्वेन, अपरत्र  
सौन्दर्यधुनीत्वेनल्येवं कम्बमुलिखति कविभक्तिसुषमा ।

भावयतान्यत्र वाचमभिजातामभिकायाः—

कलमञ्जुलवागनुमित-  
गलपञ्चरगतशुक्प्रहौत्कण्ठयाद् ।

अम्ब ! रदनाम्बरं ते

बिम्बफलं शम्बरारिणा न्यस्तम् ॥

विशिष्य जगदम्बां वाक्स्वरूपत्वेन निध्यायन्तश्च कवयः अभिजातवाचो हि  
भवन्ति । तथाचैकत्र श्रीकालिदासः—

स्वरेण तस्याममृतसुतेव  
प्रजलिपतायामभिजातवाचि ।

अथन्यपुष्टा प्रतिकूलशब्दा  
श्रोतुर्वितन्त्रीरिव ताद्यमाना ॥

इदन्तया वर्णयितुमपरीणः श्रीकालिकुलकोकिलः अभिकावाचम्, स्वानुभवं तत्र  
प्रकटयति यत्किञ्चिद्दृष्टान्तदानेन । आर्याया वाचं श्रुत्वा कश्चित्—समीचीनः  
श्रोता चेत्—कषायकण्ठीम्, उत्कूलं पुष्पसाधारणे वसन्ते कूजन्तीं कोकिलामपि  
वितन्त्रीं कठोराङ्गुलिभिस्ताड्यमानां—न तु वाद्यमानां—वल्लकीमिव कल्येत्,  
क्रेक्षारखक्षैः काकैः खलु पुष्टा सा, अन्यपुष्टा, इति । श्री मूकवाणी चैव समुद्भ-  
सत्यत्र । आर्यायाः वाचमिदन्तया ईदक्या वा ग्रहीतुकामोऽयं कविः, तथा  
कर्तुमपरीणः, बाह्यं खलु रदनाम्बरं वर्णयति—अम्ब ! नेदं रदनाम्बरम्,  
किन्तर्हि, पक्षं बिम्बफलं शम्बरारिणा न्यस्तम् । किमर्थमत्र निक्षिप्तं तेन ?

उच्यते । मन्मथः खलु विविधविलासरसराशीः, सुन्दरवस्तुसङ्कलने जागरूकः, कुपहूलो, निखं वसन्तक्रीडी, सुजातं शुकं प्रहीतुकामः, लोकाल्लोकमाहिण्ड-मानः औं, तव समीपं यदा आजगाम, तदा, कलमञ्जुलया=अव्यक्त-मधुरया, तव वाचा श्रुतया, ‘हन्त ! जितं मया ; दृश्यतेऽत्र मदीप्सितः शुकतल्लजः वलित्रयाङ्किते गलपञ्चरे’ इति निपुणमनुमिमानस्तं प्रतिपालयन्, सुचिरं स्थित्वा सः, ‘ब्रह्मः नायात्ययं जालमः, भवतु निर्गमयामि’ इति तथेष्ठं ब्रिघ्वफलं प्रचिन्नेपात्र । ‘आयास्यति शुकः फलं तुण्डेन खण्डयितुं, यावत् गृह्णामि झटिति जालिक इव’ इति मन्मथस्य मनोरथः । अत इदं ब्रिघ्वफलम् ! सुजाता खलु आर्याया वाक्, यत्पेटिकाताम्बूलसरेण कवयांबभूत्र श्रीमूकः, सोऽपि तामिदन्तया निर्देष्टु नैव शकोति, किन्तु बहिरेव भ्रामं भ्रामं रदनाम्बरं लावण्यफलं वर्णयति किञ्चिदिव । तत्र पुनः मन्मथेन वकवन्धकौशलं प्रदर्शयते, इत्येवं जनन्या वाचः, तत्पेटिकायाः गलस्य, लावण्यफलस्य रदनाम्बरस्य च सौन्दर्यध्वनिः, अन्ततश्च मन्मथवकवन्धकौशले हासध्वनिरित्येवमादि, कलयन्ती हि जृम्भते श्री-मूककविभक्तिसुषमेति दिक् ॥

ननु सर्वमिदं नैकान्तमधुरं शब्दचित्रमिव खलु प्रतिभाति, अतिवेलमनु-प्रासादिश्रवणेन ? अथ शब्दचित्रमिति नः कं सम्प्रलयः ? यत्र केवलं सरसकवितादुर्भिक्षयोगात् दुष्टे पथि सरस्यती हठाकृष्टये, यत्र च कमठपृष्ठनिष्ठुरं कर्णारुन्तुदमक्षराराम्बरमात्रफलकं क्लेशः श्रोतृभिरनुभूयते, तत्र हि दोषोऽयं गण्यते । वाचालीभूते हि श्रीमूके जगज्जननीपादसेवादरेण, शब्दार्थालङ्काराः स्वच्छन्दमपृथग्यत्वनिर्वर्तनीयतया समापत्त्यहमहमिक्या, सूर्याशुभिर्भिन्ने सरोजे मधुकरा इव । अर्थसुषमा हि शब्दसुषमां पुष्णाति ; तत्र किं क्रियताम् ? अत एव चात्र भावुकानां प्रीतिर्भवति ; प्रीतिजनकं च काव्यमुत्तममिल्या-धुनिकाः काव्यज्ञाः । व्युत्पत्तिः भवतु वा मा वा, भवन्ती भवत्येव, न निर्वार्यते । (प्रीतिप्रधानं च काव्यम् Literature of power, व्युत्पत्तिप्रधानं च Literature of Knowledge इति व्यपदेश्यते पाश्चात्यसरण्याम्) श्रीपञ्चशतीश्रवणेन धीमन्तो माद्यन्ति मधुनेत्रं मधुवताः इति अनुभवबलाद्वादं प्रतियन्त्यभिज्ञाः, प्रीतिप्रधानं काव्यरत्नं श्रीमूकपञ्चशतीति । अतो नैवात्र नैकान्तमधुरशब्दचित्र-शङ्काप्रसरः काव्यमार्मिकाणाम् । शब्दार्थसाहित्यं च श्रीगौरीगिरीशधटनोपमं सप्ताध्य, रसतादात्म्यं ततोऽध्यधिकं कलयति श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा, यतो वराका अपि माटशा अम्बिकोन्मुखा भ न्ति, देवीं च पृच्छन्ति —

कर्पौरैमृतांशुभिर्जननि ! ते कान्तैश्च चन्द्रातपैः  
मुक्ताहारगुणै र्भृणालबलयै मन्दस्मितश्रीरियम् ।  
श्रीकाश्चिपुरनायिके ! समतया संस्तूयते सज्जनैः  
तत्त्वद्वृमम तापशान्तिविधये किञ्चेवि ! मन्दायते ॥

श्रीमूकश्च न केवलं काव्यकविः, किन्तु पादकविः पदकविरपि ।  
काव्यविषयं च जगद्भ्रां पदेनैकेन झटिति लभ्यत्यस्मान्, आदधाति चास्मात्सु  
निरतिशयामभिकाव्युत्पत्तिभ्, अभिकाभक्तिं च । विष्णुव्यमिदमत्र पद्धरत्नम्—

एका माता सकलजगतामीयुषी ध्यानमुद्दां  
एकाम्राधीश्वरचरणयोरेकतानां समिन्धे ।  
ताटङ्गोद्धन्मणिगणरुचा ताम्रकर्णप्रदेशा  
तारुण्यश्रीस्तवकितरुचा तापसी कापि बाला ॥

कथं त्रिभुवनैकसुन्दरा अपर्णा ध्यानमुद्रया जगदीश्वरमवापेति सकलमिदं  
श्रीकुमारसभ्भवादौ सरसं भावपूर्वं च चित्रितं कथातत्त्वमञ्जसा हृदि लगत इत्यत्र  
मानं स्वानुभूतिः । स्तान्नामैकं पदमेव तत्र पर्याप्तम्, विशिष्यार्याशतके—

उररीकृतकाश्चिपुरीं  
उपनिषदरविन्दुकुहरमधुधाराम् ।  
उन्नप्रस्तनकलशीं  
उत्सवलहरीमुपास्महे शम्भोः ॥

शं भवत्यस्मादिति शम्भुः ; अनयैवोत्सवलहर्या शम्भोः शम्भुत्वमिव ।

अङ्गुरितस्तनकोरकं  
अङ्गालङ्गारमेकचूतपतेः ।  
आलोकेमहि कोमलं  
आगमसंलापसारयाथार्थ्यम् ॥  
पुञ्जितकरुणमुदञ्चित-  
शिञ्जितमणिकाश्चि किमपि काश्चिपुरे ।  
मञ्जरितमृदुलहासं  
पिञ्जरतनुरुचि पिनाकिमूलधनम् ॥

‘पिनाकिमूलधनम्’, ‘शूलपाणिशुद्धान्तम्’, ‘आगमसंलापसारयाथार्थ्यम्’, ‘पर-  
शिवोङ्गासम्’,—इत्येवं कति महामन्त्रा नोपदिश्यन्ते ? श्रीविद्यादीक्षायां च

अस्माकं श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमैव देशिकति । नैतादशं शब्दशौर्यं कुत्राप्यनु-  
भूतचरम् , येन निरुपमशौर्येण संस्कृतभाषामार्मिकाणां मनः समुत्तेजितमुद्दिन्नरो-  
माश्वंमोनन्दसान्द्रं चटुलं विस्मेरं नानटीति, मनोरथश्चैवं चर्करीति—

वरीचर्तुं स्थेमा त्वयि मम गिरां देवि ! मनसो  
नरीनर्तुं प्रौढा वदनकमले वाक्यलहरी ।  
चरीचर्तुं प्रज्ञाजननि ! जडिमा नः परजने  
सरीसर्तुं स्वैरं जननि ! मयि कामाक्षि ! करुणा ॥

केचन ‘शीलितान्तरङ्गः’ पर्यनुयुक्ते—किमिति देवताध्यानपद्धतौ  
परममाहेश्वरोऽयं कविः शृङ्गारमतिवेलमाद्रियते ? किमिति काव्यसामान्ये स्तन-  
जघननितम्बादिशब्दा अनारतमाप्रेड्यन्ते जुगुप्सावहाः ? इति । तेष्वेकोऽपि वा  
सचेताः पृष्ठो व्याचष्टाम् । किमत्रैपात्तः शृङ्गारः कल्याङ्गपि जुगुप्सामावहति ?  
विमृश्यन्तान्तावत्पदानीमानि—

तुङ्गभिरामकुचभर-  
शृङ्गारितमाश्रयामि काञ्छिगतम् ।  
गङ्गाधरपरतन्त्रं  
शृङ्गारादैततन्त्रसिद्धान्तम् ॥  
अङ्कितशङ्करदेहां  
अङ्कुरितोरेजकङ्कणाक्षेषैः ।  
अधिकाञ्चि नित्यतरुणी  
अद्राक्षं काञ्छिदद्रुतां ब्राताम् ॥  
यूना केनाऽपि मिल-  
देहा स्वाहासहायतिलकेन ।  
सहकारमूलदेशे  
संविद्युपा कुटुम्बिनी रमते ॥  
पुण्या काऽपि पुरन्प्री  
पुष्टिकन्दर्पसम्पदा वपुषा ।  
पुलिनचरी कम्पायाः  
पुरमथनं पुलकनिचुलितं कुरुते ॥

कामजेतारं खलु मोहयति सा, न तु कामवशंवदम्, ‘मारद्रोहिमनोविमोहनचणा’  
हि सा, न तु मन्मथाविष्णुं मदयति, गङ्गाधरपरतन्त्रा हि सा, न तु

अबलैकरसिकवशंवदा, पुरमथनं ननु पुलकनिचुलिं कुरुते सा निल्यतरुणी, न तु पौरं विलासिनम् । तदेवं सर्वत्र ईशानमुदया हि शृङ्गारः सुरक्षितः, यतः कुमतिकल्पना अत्र कुण्ठोभवन्ति । अनयैव ऐशानमुदया पुण्ये पुरन्धिलोके जननीभावं लम्भयत्यच्छुलं सचेतसः श्रीमूकमहाकविः, अहो श्रीमूकपञ्चशतीव्युत्पत्तेरुल्लासः ! रससर्वस्वं हि शृङ्गारः अलौकिकः, येन जगदिदं धार्यते इत्यत्र कविहृदयम् । पारमैशं च तत्त्वमिदं विश्वरक्षानिपुणं पुण्यमत्र निषेध्यते । एतादशर्वणनया निरवद्यपेशलाङ्गयाः अम्बिकायाः अणिमादृष्टैश्वर्यम्, विशिष्य वशित्वं विवक्ष्यत इति तान्त्रिकतल्लुजाः श्रीभट्टभास्करप्रभृतयः साम्प्रदायिकाः ।

किञ्चेदं शीलितान्तरङ्गः कश्चित्पृष्ठो व्याचष्टाम्—अपि स्तनजघननितम्बादिशब्दश्वरणेनैव जुगुप्सा भवति ? तत्थ्यं यदि भवति, मुञ्जुलकला हि अस्तमियत्, कृत्स्नं जगत् जायेत ध्वान्तम् । यदि नेष्यन्ते, निष्कास्यन्तां भोः ! गलहस्तिकया शब्दरङ्गादिमे, अर्थप्रपञ्चाद्वा ! अपि च भोः ! श्री मधुरानगर्यां अम्बिकासाक्षिधाने स्थपतिटङ्किता श्रीमानीक्षीप्रतिमा रेखाविभक्तं सुविभक्तगात्रीति चित्तं कुटिलं विक्रियते वा ? आप्ततमा निजानुभूतिस्तावत् पृच्छ्यताम् । ‘भवन्ति साम्येऽपि निविष्टचेतसां वपुर्विशेषव्यतिगौरवाः क्रियाः’ । वपुर्विशेषो हि वशित्वरूपैश्वर्येण बहिरञ्चनशीलानीन्द्रियाणि समावर्ज्य तनोत्यन्तर्मुखम् ; अधिहृदयं च पूर्णकुम्भेच्चलितन्यायेन विविधान् रसानुल्लासयति । सूर्कं महाकविना केनचित् ‘आनन्दयत्यन्तरनुप्रविश्य सूक्तिः कवेरेव सुधासगन्धा’, ‘निर्वेदभीशोकजुगुप्सितान्यथायान्ति साहित्यपर्यं रसत्वम्’ इति । न हि साहित्यवृष्टापये जुगुप्सा नाम किञ्चित्, रसस्य साम्राज्यात् ॥

प्रकृतिरामणीयकेषु सर्वत्र अम्बिकाकला चकास्ति । तदत्रावधेयम् प्रायशः कवयः अचेतनेषु चैतन्यं पश्यन्ति, अत एव चाचेतनान्भावान् चेतनीकुर्वन्ति । अयं तु चैतन्यमचेतनेष्वाधाय बहुधा चेतनमचेतनीकृत्य चैतन्याचेतनसम्भेदेनैव प्रपञ्चतत्त्वं निर्विण्यन् अन्ततः अचेतनव्यावृत्या ‘मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः’ । न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि पश्य मे योगैमश्वरम् ॥ इतिन्यायेन

लीये पुरहरजाये  
माये तवतरुणपल्लवच्छाये ।  
चरणे चन्द्राभरणे  
काङ्क्षीशरणे नतार्तिसंहरणे ॥

इत्यन्ततः संविद्वने अभिकातस्ये निष्ठां लभ्यत्यस्मान् । प्रहेलिकाफक्तिक्या कविसमयप्रसिद्धया सौन्दर्यसुषमां कलयति कविभक्तिसुषमा ।

ताप्राभोजं जलदनिकटे तत्र बन्धूकपुष्पं  
तस्मिन्मल्लीकुसुमसुषमा तत्र वीणानिनादम् ।  
व्यावृण्वाना सुकृतलहरी कापि काञ्चीनगर्या  
ऐशानी सा कलयतिरामैन्द्रजालं विलासम् ॥

जलदनिकटे=उपचिकुरनिकरं, ताप्राभोजं=रुचिरं मुखारविन्दं, तत्र बन्धूकपुष्पं=विमृष्टरागं लावण्यफलं अधरोष्टं, तस्मिन् मल्लीकुसुमसुषमा=मल्लीदामरभ्या दन्तपङ्क्तिः, दशनांशुसंस्कृता स्मितज्येऽत्स्ना वा, तत्र वीणानिनादं=श्रोत्रपेण कलमञ्जुलवाग्विशेषं व्यावृण्वाना ऐशानी सा सुकृतलहरी ऐन्द्रजालं विलासं कलयतिरामित्येतत् ।

कालाभोदे शशिरुचिदलं कैतकं दर्शयन्ती  
मध्येसौदमिनि मधुलिहां मालिकां राजयन्ती ।  
हंसारावं विकचकमले मञ्जुमुल्लासयन्ती  
कम्पातीरे विलसति नवा कापि कारुण्यलक्ष्मीः ॥

कालाभोदे=चिकुरनिकरे, कैतकदलं=वक्रामिन्दुकलां, मध्येसौदमिनि=काञ्चन-गौराङ्गे, मधुलिहां मालिकां=तन्यां नवरोमराजिं, राजयन्ती=परभागलाभादुत्ते-जयन्ती, विकचकमले=पादाराविन्दयुगले, हंसारावं=मञ्जुमञ्जीरनिनदं उल्लास-यन्ती विलसति इत्येतत् ।

आहारांशं त्रिदशसदसामा श्रये चातकानां  
अकाशोर्पर्यपि च कलयन्नालयं तुङ्गमेषाम् ।  
कम्पातीरे विहरतिरां कामधेनुः कवीनां  
मन्दस्मेरो मदननिगमप्रक्रियासम्प्रदायः ॥

आहारांशं त्रिदशसदसामां=अजरामराणां पीयूषखण्डम्, चन्द्रकलामितियावत्, आश्रये चातकानां=कालाभोदे, केशहस्ते, आकाशोपरि=द्वयुकोदरोपरि, एषां=त्रिदशसदसाम्, तुङ्गमालयं=महामेरुम्, उन्म्रस्तनकलशमिति यावत्, कलयन् कम्पातीरे मदननिगमप्रक्रियासम्प्रदायो विहरतिराम—इत्येतत् ॥

एवं ओतप्रोतभावेन “सोहं हंसः” इति यथा ब्रह्मनिष्ठः तथा, अभिकासभिन्नं प्रपञ्चजातं संकलय्य, सरसमधुरं रसस्वरूपे अखण्डे श्रीकामाक्षी-नामधेये सौन्दर्यस्त्वप्रधेये निष्ठामेत्यं भक्ताप्रणीः कविरिति विदाङ्गुर्वन्त्वार्याः ।

‘इह चेदवेदादथ सत्यमस्ति न चेदिहावेदीन्महती विनष्टिः’ इति श्रुत्यनु-  
सारम्, अत्रैव निस्तुलं सकलमानन्दं कलयति कविः जीवमुक्तः। कवयस्तिवतरे  
खण्डशः सौन्दर्यकलां प्रकृतिरामणीयकेषु दध्वा पर्युत्सुकीभवन्ति ‘प्रायेण साम-  
ग्रयविधौ गुणानां पराङ्मुखी विश्वसुज. प्रवृत्तिः’ इत्येवम्। अयं पुनः श्री-  
मूकः सर्वत्र प्रसुमरां सौन्दर्यकलां सकलयेन संकलय्य, सीमाशून्यकवितया  
आनन्दसान्दो भवतीति श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमावैलक्षण्यम्। कविरयं कान्तदर्शी॥

कलयन्तु च सहृदयाः श्रीमूककवेरुदारदर्शनम्। पञ्चशत्यामनेकशः  
अद्वैतभावना क्रियते। अखण्डसौन्दर्यसमाधिर्हि श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमां पुष्णातीति  
प्रक्रान्तम्। अभिकायाः अवलम्बने तनिमाद्वैतम्, कटाक्षे नीलिमाद्वैतम्, पादारविन्दे  
अरुणिमाद्वैतम्, मन्दस्मिते धवलिमाद्वैतम्, रूपे तरुणिमाद्वैतम्, तारुण्ये शृङ्खरा-  
द्वैतम्, ध्याने आनन्दाद्वैतमित्येवं सर्वत्र शोभाद्वैतं कलयति महाकविः श्रीमूकाख्यः  
बाह्यारण्यकैकायनप्रक्रियानुविद्वम्। अहो औपनिषदतल्लजोऽयं कविः !  
श्रीमूकभक्तिश्च परमाद्वैतभक्तिरित्यत्र न कापि संशीतिः। विषयिविषयभावपुरस्सरं  
भक्तिः साधनभक्तिः, तदपनोदनविधं सर्वमेदप्रमोषं या शिष्यते सा साध्यभक्तिः  
अद्वैतभक्तिरिति श्रीमधुसूदनसरस्वतीप्रभृतयः श्रीशङ्खराचार्यानुयायिनः  
वेदान्तकेसरिणः। विमृश्यतान्तावत्—

इन्धाने भववीतिहोत्रनिवहे कर्मावचण्डानिल-

प्रौढिन्ना बहुलीकृते निपतिं सन्तापचिन्ताकुलम्।

मातर्मा परिषिञ्च किञ्चिदमलैः पीयूषवर्षैरिव

श्रीकामाक्षि ! तवस्मित्युतिकणैः शैशिर्यलीलाकरैः॥

कविरत्र उच्चावचं भिन्नं प्रपञ्चजातं समीकर्तुं नैवेष्टे, किन्तर्हि, प्रत्यगात्मशोधनायै-  
वाभिकामाश्रयते, मातः मां परिषिञ्च किञ्चिदमलैरित्येवम्।

अज्ञातभक्तिरसमप्रसरद्विवेकं

अत्यन्तगर्वं अनधीतसमस्तशास्त्रम्।

अप्रातसत्यमसमीपगतं च मुक्तेः

कामाक्षि ! नैव तव काङ्क्षति दृष्टिपातः॥

पद्मस्तेऽस्मिन् श्रीमूककविः अद्वैतभक्तिकमं दर्शयति—मुमुक्षा, सत्याचरणम्,  
समस्तशास्त्रानीनिषेणम्, शमदमादिसम्पत्, विवेकोद्घासः, अद्वैतभक्तिरसश्वेति।  
कर्मबन्धच्छेदं तनोति श्रीकामाक्षीचरणकमलसेवा, येन आनन्दाद्वैतं सिद्धमेव  
सेत्यत्यखण्डम्—

वषट्कुर्वन् माञ्जीरककलकलैः कर्मलहरी-  
 हर्षीषि प्रोद्दण्डं ज्वलति परमज्ञानदहने ।  
 मर्हायान् कामाक्षि ! स्फुटमहसि जोहोति सुधियां  
 मनोवेद्यां मातस्तवचरणयज्वा गिरिसुते ! ॥

किञ्च, अतदूव्यावृत्या प्रपञ्चं थूकृत्य सारिष्ठं मामकं शाश्वतं तत्त्वं शास्त्रसरणौ  
 सञ्चरिष्णुभिः कुशलधिषणैः अधिगम्यत इत्येतत् श्रीकामाक्षीचरणसेवामहिमा—

जगन्नेदं नेदं परमिति परित्यज्य यतिभिः  
 कुशाग्रीयस्वान्तैः कुशलधिषणैः शास्त्रसरणौ ।  
 गवेष्यं कामाक्षि ! ध्रुवमकृतकानां गिरिसुते !  
 गिरामैदम्पर्यं तत्र चरणमाहात्म्यगरिमा ॥

पञ्चशत्या हि श्रीमूकमहाकविः रसिकमण्डलीमेवमुद्बोधयति, विना  
 शब्दार्थैक्यमुमामहेश्वरघटनासङ्काशाम्, सन्तापचिन्ताकुलम्, निर्वेदनिष्टसं मादशानां  
 मनः, नैव निर्वृतिं लभेत । काव्यकलनया हि, विशिष्य एतादृशभक्तिसुषमा-  
 शोभितया काव्यसम्पदा कविः भवकान्तारमपि कान्तं करोति, मधुमत्तमिलिन्द  
 इव मञ्जु गुञ्जन् भीममपि चेतः परितोषयति । ये चेमां कलासुषमां न रोचयन्ते  
 तान्विहाय कवितल्लजमनुस्मरामः—

सव्यं वपुः शब्दमयं पुरारे-  
 रथात्मकं दक्षिणमामनन्ति ।  
 अङ्गं जगन्मङ्गलमैश्वरं तद्  
 अर्हन्ति काव्यं कथमल्पपुण्याः ॥

काव्यानुशीलनं नाम नेनोक्ति चित्तम्, करणान्यनक्ति, अनल्पं सुखमस्मास्वा  
 दधातीत्याधुनिककाव्यज्ञसमयः । इयं चानुभूतिः सर्वेषां नः अपरोक्षमेव श्री-  
 कामकोटीभक्तानाम् । इतोद्यधिकं तावत्, पञ्चशतीपारायणावसरे उद्दिन्नरोमाञ्चमु  
 द्वलदश्रूपरम्, इन्धानभावजालं, आश्वर्यसमूढम्, अस्तमितान्यवृत्ति, आनन्दं  
 कलयत्यन्तरङ्गम् । अहो कविभक्तिसुषमा, या मूकमेवं निर्भीकमतिगम्भैरं च  
 अवीवदत्—

धनेन न रमामहे खलजनाश सेवामहे  
 न चापलमयामहे भवभयाम दूयामहे ।

स्थिरां तनुमहेतरां मनसि किञ्च काञ्चीरत-  
स्मरान् रक्कुटुभिनीचस्णपल्लवोपासनाम् ॥

श्रीकामकोटि ! समरभेरीभाङ्गारभीषणदशदिशामुखेषु देशान्तरेषु, शतघ्नीस्फोट-  
शकलितरुण्डखण्डेषु पौरजानपदेषु, अन्तर्गलगलद्वाषपूरं लुलितलुलितं ताध्यन्तीषु  
पण्डितमण्डलोषु, हाहाकारमात्रप्रतीकारे साधुवृन्दे, अकालप्रलयशङ्कातङ्कविधुरे  
जगतीतले, समेधतां धीरोपदेशोऽयम्, एधतान्तरां काव्यकलोन्लासः, एधतान्तमां  
च काव्यज्ञसमयश्वेति—शिवानुध्यानमेव शरणम् ॥



## LETTER TO THE EDITOR.\*

My reviewer's first complaint is that the differentiation of *Vidyā* and *Kalā* is hardly convincing. He does not give any reason to support this contention. The lines quoted from *Sukranīti* serves as an evidence only to prove the क्रियात्मकत्व of the arts. They were never meant to support his definition. The reviewer misses the real import of it although it is quite clear.

The reviewer next observes that the author doubts the existence of a person, Bharata by name. I may assure the readers that I have never doubted the existence of Bharata.

The author's criticism of A. K. Kumaraswami's translation of *Abhinaya Darpanam* has elicited comment that it is not supported by adequate reasons. Pages 28, 29, 30 and 31 of the book disprove the reviewer's statement.

"Mr. Nair's assertive statement fails to carry conviction" says the reviewer regarding the 450 years' antiquity of this Kerala Art. While discussing the dates of Śankara Kavi and Vira Kerala Varma, the guru and uncle respectively of the author of 'Rāmanaṭṭam', the author quotes the Quilon inscription which mentions the date of Virakerala-Varma. The reviewer repudiates the author's conclusion saying that the said inscription does not refer to the direct authorship of the Āṭṭakkathā. How could or why should the uncle mention the name of his nephew in this inscription and his works? The charge of अन्योन्याश्रयदोष in the quoting of this inscription is beside the point.

The existence of an inscription in Orissa dated 1499 which tells us that 'Aṣṭapadī' was sung and danced there at that time is mentioned by the reviewer as an evidence to prove that

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\* This is in connection with a Review by Mr. E. P. Radha-krishnan of a work "Attakkatha or Kathakali, a Critical Study" by Sri P. Krishnan Nair, Vyakarana-Sahitya Siromani, Junior Lecturer in Malayalam, University of Madras, No. 5, Madras University Malayalam Series, 1939, which was published in Volume XIII at page 348.

*Aṣṭapadī* had been in vogue in Kerala long before the ‘Kriṣṇanāṭṭam’ and ‘Rāmanāṭṭam’ came into existence. Looking at the map of India we see that Bengal, the original home of *Aṣṭapadī*, and Orissa are adjacent territories, while Malabar is far far away in the South west. How can this Orissa inscription prove that *Aṣṭapadiyāṭṭam* must have been in practice in Kerala in those years, unless Orissa and Malabar are proved to be identical? The author’s case is therefore strengthened by the manuscript evidence he has supplied, which unmistakably proves that ‘*Aṣṭapadiyāṭṭam*’ in Kerala is much later.

It is generally accepted by scholars that the name ‘Paraiyur’ in ‘Cilappatikaram’ refers to North Parur in Travancore. The reviewer is quite free to have his own view on the subject but he must show sufficient reasons to prove the untenability of the accepted identification instead of dismissing it in a random remark. Nor has he any alternative suggestion to offer.

The reviewer presumes to examine only the book proper but takes up a foot-note from the Prastavana for comment and finds fault with the expression of अधीतविद्या in preference to शातविद्या. We are at a loss to understand the material difference between the two terms. If the reviewer recognises the authority of Panini he should accept the sutra “न नभूत्पुरुषात् अचतुरसंगत” (5-1-121) which justifies the use of असंगत्य as more correct than असांगत्य.

## TECHNICAL TERMS IN THE ASTĀDHYĀYI

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M.O.L.

*Adyar Library*

Pāṇini makes use of nearly 100 technical terms, some having been invented by him and others (probably a larger number) adopted from earlier works. The following have been defined by him.

- (1) वृद्धिः 1. 1. 1; (2) गुणः 1. 1. 2; (3) संयोगः 1. 1. 7;  
(4) अनुनासिकः 1. 1. 8; (5) सर्वर्णम् 1. 1. 9; (6) प्रगृह्णम् 1.1.11;  
(7) शु 1.1.20; (8) ष 1.1.22; (9) संख्या 1.1.23; (10) षट् 1.1.24  
(11) निष्ठा 1.1.26; (12) सर्वनाम 1.1.27; (13) अव्ययम् 1.1.37;  
(14) सर्वनामस्थानम् 1.1.42; (15) संप्रसारणम् 1.1.45; (16) लोपः  
1.1.60; (17-19) लुक् शुलु लुप् 1.1.61; (20) उपधा 1.1.65;  
(21) वृद्धम् 1.1.73; (22-2+) हस्तः दीर्घः प्लुतः 1.2.27; (25) उदात्तः  
1.2.28; (26) अनुदात्तः 1...29; (27) स्वरितः 1.2.30; (28)  
अष्टृकः 1.2.41; (29) कर्मधारयः 1.2.42; (30) उपसर्जनम् 1.2.43f;  
(31) प्रातिपदिकम् 1.2.45f; (32) एकेशः 1.2.64; (33) इत् 1.3.2;  
(34) नदी 1.4.3ff.; (35) वि 1.4.7ff.; (36) लघु 1.4.10;  
(37) गुरु 1.4.11f; (38) अङ्गम् 1.4.13; (39) पदम् 1.4.14ff;  
(40) भम् 1.4.18ff; (41) बहुवचनम् 1.4.21; (42-+3) द्विवचनम्  
एकवचनम् 1.4.22; (4+) अपादानम् 1.4.24ff; (45) संप्रदानम् 1.4.32; ff.  
(46) करणम् 1.4.42; (47) अधिकरणम् 1.4.45; (48) कर्म 1.4.49ff;  
(49) कर्ता 1.4.54; (50) निपातः 1.4.56f; (51) उपसर्गः 1.4.59;  
(52) गतिः 1.4.60ff; (53) कर्मप्रवचनीयः 1.4.83ff; (55) परस्मैपदम्  
1.4.99; (55) आत्मनेपदम् 1.4.100; (56-58) प्रथमः मध्यमः उच्चमः  
1.4.101; (59) विभक्तिः 1.4.104; (60) संहिता 1.4.109; (61)  
अवसानम् 1.4.110; (62) द्विगुः 2.1.52; (63) बहुशीहिः 2.2.23;  
(64) द्वन्द्वः 2.2.29; (65) आमन्त्रितम् 2.3.48; (66) सम्बुद्धिः  
2.3.49; (67) उपपदम् 3.1.92; (68) कृत्याः 3.1.95; (69) लुक्  
3.2.110ff; (70) लड् 3.2.111ff; (71) लट् 3.2.114ff; (72)  
लिट् 3.2.115ff; (73) लट् 3.2.123ff; (74) छट् 3.3.15ff;

- (75) लङ् 3.3.139ff; (76) लिङ् 3.3.161ff; (77) लोट् 3.3.162ff;  
 (78) लेट् 3.4.7ff; (79) सार्वधातुकम् 3.4.113; (80) आर्षधातुकम्  
 3.4.114; (81) गोत्रम् 4.1.162; (82) युवा 4.1.163ff; (83)  
 तद्राजः 4.1.172; (84) आप्नेडितम् 8.1.2.

The meagreness of evidence renders it impossible to have a clear-cut division of the *Samjñās* into Pāṇinian and non-Pāṇinian and the authorship of many of these can be decided only by a good deal of further investigation. What is attempted here is only to examine the conclusions arrived at by Goldstücker regarding these and to give certain broad characteristics of Pāṇinian terms which may help future attempts to distinguish these from the rest.

<sup>1</sup>Goldstücker thinks that a solution to the above problem is contained in the rule तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् (P. 1.2.53). According to him this rule tells us what we should understand by the term 'Samjñā' in Pāṇini's grammar and thus helps us to mark Pāṇinian terms off from others. He interprets it as follows:

"Amongst these rules, one (1.2.53) referring to a subject touched on by him in a previous Sūtra, says: "Such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms, which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine; literally: for it has the authority of a samjñā or conventional term)". To these words, Patañjali appends the following gloss: "When Pāṇini speaks of conventional terms which he will not teach because they are settled, does he mean by this expression, such technical terms as ti, ghu, bha, and the like? No; for samjñā is here the same as samjñāna 'understanding' (i.e., a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically)". And Kaiyāṭa enlarges upon these words in the following strain:

"The question of Patañjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative, because context itself has a greater weight than (mere) analogy." Now, though such terms as ti, ghu, bha, and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an etymological work (like that of Pāṇini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology. 'Understanding' (as Patañjali paraphrases samjñā) means mentally entering into,

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1. Pāṇini, pp. 163ff.

understanding the component parts of a word (or it means the words which admit of this mental process.".....)"

From this he derives the following conclusions :—

1. That his grammar does not treat of those Samjñās or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.
2. That this term samjñā must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.
3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.
4. That such terms as *ti*, *ghu* and *bha*, were known and settled before Pāṇini's grammar, but that, nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms.

These conclusions of Goldstücker are based on a wrong interpretation of the rule and the Mahābhāṣya and Pradīpa on it. The correct interpretations of these texts is as follows :—

Pāṇini : तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ।

By 'tad' he refers to the Yuktaवadbhāvaśāstra, i.e., the concord of gender and number of primary and derivative nouns and of attributes and substantives, regarding which he has already given two rules, namely लुप्तिशुक्तवद्यत्किवचने and विशेषणानांचाजाते: (1. .51-52).

The first rule says that when a Taddhita affix is dropped by *lup*, then the gender and number of the Taddhita word which has thus been derived agree with those of the original word e.g., पञ्चलानां निवासो जनपदो पञ्चालाः ।

The second says that the number and gender of such derivatives are the same as those of the latter but not when expressing Jāti, e.g., पञ्चालाः रमणीयाः (but गोदौ ग्रामः when jāti is expressed).

The view contained in these two rules is in fact not Pāṇini's, but that of some of his predecessors. Kāśikā therefore has on P. 1.4.41 the remark :

व्यक्तिवचने इति च लिङ्गसंरूपयोः पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशः । तदीयमेवेदं सूत्रम् । तथा चास्य प्रत्याह्यानं भविष्यति — तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादिति ।

Pāṇini thinks that no hard and fast rule can be laid down regarding gender and number which more or less depend on usage, and refutes the view of his predecessors in the next rule.

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ।

"This<sup>1</sup> concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of samjñā (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by the suffix being dropped, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word दारा: 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to female singular; similarly आपः 'water' is always feminine plural in form; so also गदा:, चर्णः, सिकतः. This Sūtra, therefore, modifies the former Sūtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom."

In Pāṇini's grammar 'Sāmjñā' usually (when formed with the Karaṇa-añ) means a technical term; but, since the problem of technical terms has no relation whatsoever to the subject at issue here, namely, the concord of gender and number of derivative and primary words, it is here taken as ending with the Bhāva añ, i.e., as an abstract noun meaning cognition or, to be more clear, understanding by convention. It is true that this Pāda in the beginning deals with some technical terms and the meaning of samjñā which one understands here from the context, is 'a technical term'; but since the meaning decided by the context does not have any bearing on the subject dealt with in the Sūtra and since Sāmarthyā, i.e., the potency or the indicative power of the words (one of the six factors given by Jaimini,<sup>2</sup> which fixes the meaning of a word in a given passage in accordance with its bearing on the subject which is at issue) has greater weight than Prakaraṇa, i.e., the context, Samjñā is here interpreted not as 'a technical term' but as 'Sampratiyaya',

1. Vasu, Trāns. of the S. Kaumudī, Vol. 1, pp. 725-726.

2. See Sūtra 3.3.14

i.e., Rūḍhi or convention. What Pāṇini means is this. The gender and number of a word are more or less matters<sup>1</sup> of usage and the efforts of even competent grammarians to fix them cannot turn out successful. In such instances as ‘गोदौ ग्रामः’ ‘हरीतक्यः फलानि’ etc., the number or gender of the adjective is justified by convention, i. e., Rūḍhi. Hence, in Pāṇini's view, there is no need to assume such a nominal adjective as a derivative which has preserved the gender or number of the original word. Pāṇini thus differs from his predecessors on this point. All this is made clear by Kaiyatā who explains the Mahābhāṣya on this Sūtra—

किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टुभादिसंज्ञास्तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम् । नेत्याह ।  
संज्ञानं सज्जा—

as follows—

किं या एता इति । प्रत्यास्त्याश्रयेण प्रभः । नेत्याहेति । प्रत्यासस्ते:  
सामर्थ्यं बलवत् । न हि ठियुभादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वं युक्तवद्वावशास्त्र-  
स्याशिष्यत्वे हेतुरुपपथते । संबन्धाभावात् । संज्ञानमिति । अवगमः । संप्रत्यय  
इत्यर्थः । तत्र यथापो दाराः सिक्ताः वर्षा:—इत्युक्ते लिङ्गसंख्यावगतिरुपयद-  
माना प्रमाणम्, एवं पञ्चाला वरणा इत्यादावपि । न च पञ्चालादयो यैगिका  
अपि तु जनपदादीनां संज्ञास्ततो योगानवगमात् तद्वितो नोपपथत इति लुब्धिः  
न वक्तव्यः ॥

Nageśa:

अवगमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः । भावेऽरुन्तो यैगिकः संज्ञाशब्द इत्यर्थः ।  
प्रतीतिप्रामाण्यमवश्यमाश्रयणीयमित्याह..... ।

The question of Patañjali is not, as Goldstücker thinks, suggested by the rule of analogy, but by the Paribhāṣā कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः ।

According to this Paribhāṣā the expression संज्ञा in Pāṇini's grammar can mean only technical terms. Why Patañjali instances only such terms as टि, शु, भ, etc., will be presently made clear. Goldstücker's explanation of Patañjali's

1. Cf. the statement लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वालिङ्गस्य which one very often comes across in the various commentaries on Pāṇini; cf. also such words as आपः दाराः, etc. given by Kaiyatā.

answer ("a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically") is against the Pradīpa and Udyota which interpret Samjñāna as संप्रयय; and since the word here ends in a Bhāvapratyaya it is evidently wrong also. He mistranslates Kaiyatā's प्रत्यासति and सामर्थ्य by 'analogy' and 'context' respectively. The meanings of these two words are so well established as not to admit of any misinterpretation. Nageśa gives their unequivocal equivalents as प्रकरणालिङ्गं बलवदित्यर्थः' Above all, Goldstücker clearly forgets that the topic dealt with in the Sūtra is far from having any relation to the problem of the technical terms. We have, therefore, to find a solution for this problem of the Samjñās not in this Sūtra, nor in the Mahābhāṣya etc., on it, but elsewhere as shown below.

I think we shall not be wrong if, according to Patañjali's oft-repeated statement<sup>1</sup> संशा नाम यतो न लघीयः । क्रुत एतत् ! लघ्ये हि संशाकरणम् । we decide that all such monosyllabic terms as ti, ghu, bha, ghi, etc., are the inventions of Pāṇini whose object it is to secure brevity to the largest extent. The very fact that Patañjali instances only such terms as being understood primarily by Samjñā in Pāṇini's work points to this conclusion. Macdonell also seems to hold a similar view when he says: "2Those of Pāṇini's terms which are real words, whether they describe the phenomenon as sam-āsa 'compound' or express a category by an example, as dvi-gu (two-cow) 'numeral compound', are probably all borrowed from predecessors. Most of his technical terms are arbitrary groups of letters resembling algebraic symbols." In the Mahābhāṣya on P. 1.2.53., Patañjali instances ti, ghu, bha, etc., as Kṛtrimasamjñās; and the suggestion that these are invented by Pāṇini is transparent in it.

As regards the Mahāsamjñās there is no safe criterion to decide their authorship. Probably most of them are borrowed by Pāṇini from his predecessors. But it must be noted that the adoption of these instead of simpler terms like ti, ghu, bha, etc., has various purposes. In certain cases it is to teach that what has been denoted by them must be in accordance with their respective etymological meanings. This is clearly borne out by such statements of Patañjali as the following:—

1. See the Mahābhāṣya on P. 1.1.22, 26, 32, etc.
2. A Sanskrit Grammar, Introduction, p. 9.

<sup>1</sup>अथवा महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत् एतत् ? लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम्—अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत—संख्यायतेऽन्या संख्येति ॥

<sup>2</sup>अथवा महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत् एतत् ? लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम्—अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत—सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति । सर्वेषां नामानीति चातः सर्वनामानि ॥

<sup>3</sup>प्रत्यय इति महती संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत् एतत् ? लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम्—अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत—प्रत्यायतीति प्रत्यय इति<sup>4</sup> ॥

The definition of a few others is intended by Pāṇini to point out his difference from his predecessors in regard to them. For instance he defines Karmadhāraya as “तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः” in order to bring those compounds under the category of Tatpuruṣa. His predecessors seem to have regarded the Karmadhārayas as a separate class. The Br̥haddevatā, though much later than Pāṇini, preserves an earlier grammatical tradition when it says:

५दिगुर्द्वन्द्वोऽव्ययीभावः कर्मधारय एव च ।

पञ्चमस्तु बहुवीहिः षष्ठस्तपुरुषः स्मृतः ॥

It is not clear what evidence Goldstücker has got to adduce that Pāṇini is the first to employ the term Karmadhāraya in the sense stated by him.

1. 1.1.22.
  2. 1.1.26.
  3. 3.1.1.
  4. There are also some more instances where Patañjali repeats this.
  5. Cf. the Prakriyāsarvasva:  
दयोर्गवो भवादिहि दिगुर्यस्येह च दिगुः ।  
दयोर्हिपदयेरेकदव्यवृत्त्याखिलं पदम् ॥
- क्रियासंबन्धि यत्र स्यात्स शान्तः कर्मधारयः ।
- Samāsaprakaraṇa (Adyar Library Ms. 21. Q. 3).  
Vide Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's Introduction to the Prakriyā Sarvasva, Madras University Sanskrit Series, p. 12. Pāṇini, p. 167.

There are yet a few other *Mahāsamjñās*, e.g., *Udātta*, *Anudātta*, *Svarita*, *Samhitā*, etc., which are undoubtedly borrowed by Pāṇini from earlier phonetical treatises and whose definitions in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are only to acquaint the *Mandabuddhi*, i.e., one who has not studied the *Prātiśākhyas* or the *Śikṣās* with their meaning. Commenting on P. 1.2.32 Patañjali says:

अन्वाह्यानमेव तर्हीदं मन्दबुद्धेः ।

*Later commentators and the Samjñāśāstra.*

It is perhaps deserving of mention here that the question whether this *Samjñāśāstra* teaches something new which is not known otherwise, i.e., *Apūrvavidhi*, or only seeks to restrict the meanings of these terms which are otherwise known, i.e., *Niyamavidhi*, receives serious attention in later commentaries. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita thinks that it is a *Niyamasāstra*. In the *Śabda-kaustubha* he says:

१मदीयशास्त्रे बृद्धिशरदेनदैच एव प्राणा इति नियमार्थं सूत्रारभात् ।

This has the support of the following *Vākyapadīya*:-

२व्यवहाराय नियमः संज्ञायाः संज्ञिनि कचित् ।

नित्य एव तु संबन्धो दित्यादिषु गवादिवत् ।

According to Nāgeśa, it is a *Vidhiśāstra*. In the *Laghushabdenduśekhara* he says:

३सर्वशब्दानां सर्वार्थवाचकत्वेऽपि वाचकत्वस्य गृहीतस्यैव बोधजनकतया संज्ञाशास्त्राणामज्ञातशक्तिशापकतया विधित्वम् ॥

That these terms have only their technical meanings in Pāṇini's grammar is only a general rule; in a few exceptional cases their ordinary meanings have also to be accepted, justification for this being found in the maxim

व्याह्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ।

In his commentary on P. 1.1.22 Patañjali says:

न यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे । उभयगतिः पुनरिह भवति । अन्यत्रापि नावस्थयिष्यैव । तथथा—कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्मेति कृत्रिमा कर्मसंज्ञा । कर्मप्रदेशोष

1. P. 86, Chaukhamba edition.

2. 2. 369.

3. Vol. I, p. 55 (Kāśi Sanskrit Series).

चोभयगतिर्भवति । कर्मणि द्वितीयेति कृत्रिमस्य प्रहणम् । कर्तरि कर्मव्यतीहार इत्यत्राकृत्रिमस्य । तथा साधकतमं करणमिति कृत्रिमा करणसंज्ञा । करण-प्रदेशोषु चोभयगतिर्भवति । कर्तुकरणयोस्तुतीयेति कृत्रिमस्य प्रहणम् । शब्दवैरकलहाभकण्वमेवेभ्यः करणे इत्यत्राकृत्रिमस्य । तथाधारोऽधिकरणमिति कृत्रिमाधिकरणसंज्ञा । अधिकरणप्रदेशोषु चोभयगतिर्भवति । सप्तम्याधिकरणे चेति कृत्रिमस्य प्रहणम् । विप्रतिषिद्धशानधिकरणवाचीत्यत्राकृत्रिमस्य ॥



## THE CONCEPT OF PRAMĀDA IN SANATSU-JATIYAM

BY

“ T. S. S. ”

The Vedanta philosophy of Sanātana Dharma abounds in passages interpreting the many-sided problems of Life and Death that confront every human being every minute. But no other book than the Sanatsujātiyam presents a more clear, comprehensive and complete comment on the question of Death.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the blind king of the Kurus and father of the hundred Kaurava brothers, after having tasted enough of the bitterness of defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍavās and lost all his sons, lost also his mental tranquillity and became very uneasy. Just at that time Vidura returned from his long pilgrimage and seeing Dhṛtarāṣṭra unhappy, decided to give him some advice to enable him to renounce once for all the worldly attachment and attain eternal Bliss. Accordingly, Vidura explained among other things that the world is unreal, that all lives are short indeed, and that the only truth is the Self. It is strange, but nevertheless true, that there is an inexplicable natural longing in the mortal man to comprehend and realise the Supreme Immortal Absolute Ātmān. If man's natural desire is to realise that Supreme Entity, what prevents him from attaining it? It is *avidyā* or cosmic nescience that throws him headlong into the ocean of miseries. *Ātma-Vidyā* or the knowledge of the Self alone has power to destroy all miseries of a deluded life. ‘तरति शोकमात्मवित्’ (*Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*). One who realises the Ātma crosses over the gulf of miseries.

So, when Dhṛtarāṣṭra heard his words, he became so impressed with his advice that he, realising that the highest aim of life is the realisation of Ātmā, decided to study under Vidura and thereupon requested Vidura to enlighten him fully on the supremely transcendental subject of *Brahmavidyā*.

Vidura was glad that his few words effected so much change in the mentality of his blind brother. But Vidura pleaded his inability to comply with the request of Dhṛtarāṣṭra

to enlighten him on the subject of *Ātma-Vidyā*, inasmuch as he had no right to teach such a highly recondite Śāstraic subject of *Ātma-Vidyā* as he was born of a Śūdra woman. He, therefore, wanted to delegate the laudable task to more competent and proper hands and recommended the name of Sanatsujāta, "The Eternal Boy." Vidura, thereafter, thought of the "Eternal Boy" and he appeared.

Śrī Sanatkumāra's august presence itself was a source of never-failing inspiration and encouragement to king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. He felt, as it were, that wisdom had dawned on his mind which had been till then hazy with confused ideas. He thought that the best days of his life began only when Vidura spoke to him on the eternity and immutability of the *Paramātmā* and the transient nature of all objects of mundane existence. His heart was saturated with joy at Vidura's benevolent sincerity of heart. It might be remembered that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had already floundered enough in the ocean of miseries and so longed for emancipation once for all from the bondage of *samsāra*. This thirst for liberation is the prime requisite of a true aspirant for *Ātma-Vidyā*. Only when the mind is cleansed of all impurities like desire, resentment etc., (काम, क्रोध) is it possible to gain a true perception of the Truth.

So, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, very anxious to learn the Truth, requested Śrī Sanatkumāra to bless him with the Supreme Knowledge (परमा बुद्धिः). "They say" he said, "that you preach to the world the theory of the non-existence of death. But the Devas and the Asuras practised strict continence (*Brahmacarya*) in order to free themselves from the shackles of death. Which of these two facts is right?" The *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* tells us that Indra and Virocana believed in the existence of death and with a view to avoiding it practised *Brahmacarya*. If there existed nothing as death there would not have arisen any necessity for the Devas and the Asuras to take to *Brahmacarya*. So thought Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who asked Sanatkumāra to explain to him whether death existed or not. The "Eternal Boy" was pleased at his query and gave out his reply—a reply intended not only for the enlightenment of the blind king but also for the benefit of the entire 'blind' humanity whose real nature is shrouded in the utter darkness of *Avidyā* or nescience. Some believe that there is death and hope to escape its cruel hands by

the performance of *Vaidika* karmas. These people do not realize that the deathless state is not one attainable by karmas. But there are some others who believe that nothing but the supreme *Ātman* is real, and totally deny the existence of death for Him. These persons recognize the absolute nature of the Imperishable Supreme *Brahman*. Sanatkumāra began to explain to the king the philosophy of death because he knew that the subject on hand was so recondite, subtle and abstruse that any superficial knowledge would lead the latter into a maze. He said that the theory of the existence or non-existence of death dated from the time of creation. Some were of the opinion that death was synonymous with (मोह) the erroneous identification of the perishable body with the Immortal Soul. But he himself preferred to equate it with the still more anterior lapse from the perception of Brahma which was responsible for this erroneous identification, and the miseries of birth and death consequent thereon. The state of oneness with the *Para Brahman*, according to him, was the state of deathlessness. The concept of *Pramāda* as enunciated by Śrī Sanatkumāra may thus be illustrated: Ordinarily the word *Pramāda* is used to signify "mistake". We say that through *Pramāda* a man mistakes a rope for a snake. Sanatkumāra points out that this mistaken perception of a snake in the rope is traceable to a still earlier mistake, namely, the *non-perception* of the rope. That is, the non-perception of the rope is the first or causal mistake; the perception of the snake is the second or subsequent mistake. Sanatkumāra prefers to use the word *Pramāda* for the first mistake. In Vedanta phraseology, the first mistake is known as *Avaraṇa* and the second as *Vikṣēpa*.

Here Sanatkumāra substantiated his arguments by advert-  
ing to the war between the Suras and the Asuras. Who are  
Suras and Asuras? Those indulging in sensuous pursuits with-  
out attempting to know their real nature are Asuras.  
(असुषु प्राणेषु इन्द्रियेषु एव रमन्ते इति असुराः). Those who enjoy trans-  
cendent joy in the *Atmā*, which resides in the chamber of  
their hearts are Suras. (स्वास्मिन् आत्मन्येव रमन्ते इति सुराः) The  
orthodox commentators consider the above story as an eulogis-  
tic remark (अर्थबाद) to point out the omnipotence, the omni-  
presence and the omniscience of *Brahman*. The Asuras in  
their war with the Devas were defeated due to their ignorance

of the knowledge of *Brahma* and their attachment to sensual materialism. But the Suras, inasmuch as they comprehended the Supreme Spirit, emerged victorious and glorious.

In fact, death never pounces on its victims nor pierces them with sharp claws like a tiger; for death has no form or shape. Ordinary people identify Yāma with death. And the Purāṇas narrate how Sāvitrī, the chaste and dutiful wife of Satyavān, met Yama in physical form, pleaded for the life of her husband and at last won it from him. It may be unnecessary to consider here whether Satyavān was a "historical" person but the story is *not* allegorical in the sense that we need import anything more than the literal sense. The God of death has a form and the soul leaving the body has also a form and the story has to be taken as literally true. This is not disputed by Sanatkumāra. He only says that the God of Death is not really as deathly as the death of *Pramāda* about which he is talking. But it is not this Death that Sanatkumāra here speaks. It may be pointed out that here and throughout *Sanatsujātiyam* Śrī Sanatkumāra harps on the sole string of *Advaita* and strictly warns us against falling into the hands of *Pramāda*, (प्रमाद) the Real Death. The ignorant think that Yama, the God of death, is a cruel god. The Ācārya says that he is not as they take him to be, but on the other hand, he metes out justice according to the *Puṇya-Pāpa* (virtue or vice) of man and leads him on the right path, and thus justifies the appellation of Dharma Raja.

So, it is clear that *Pramāda* alone was death. We shall now consider its *modus operandi*. This *Pramāda*, this "death" starts with Egoism and then Desire. In the *Bhagavadgītā* Arjuna puts the question to his Divine Charioteer: "What prompts a man to commit sin even against his will?" Śrī Kṛṣṇa answers: "That is desire. That is anger. That is the product of the quality called *Rajas*." (काम एष क्रोधेष रजोगुणसमूद्रवः). In this world almost all thinking beings are swayed by desire to secure pleasures. It is desire that induces them to action. If there is any obstacle to their getting the desired objects this desire takes the shape of anger towards that obstacle. Anger produces confusion and deprives them of their power of discrimination (विवेक). The state of equanimity is impossible of attainment by a deluded man; he mistakes the forbidden path

to be the right path: Those who are under the devastating influence of ignorance (*Ajñāna*) with its multi-faces like egoism, desire, anger, etc., fall an easy prey to the God of death. After death they pass to the yonder world where they stay till their karmas are exhausted. Again, they take their birth in this world. And the senses hold their sway over them according to their karmas. They become, as it were, their servants and following in their foot-steps revolve in the Samsaric cycle of births and deaths. That is, not having realized the true nature of *Ātma* they flounder in the sea of *Samsāra*, dashed recklessly hither and thither against the rocks of desire, anxiety, etc.

The next point dealt with by the heavenly Ācārya is that *Karma* is the cause of the Samsaric cycle of births and deaths. Our Scriptures say that *Karma* is intended for (चित्तशुद्धि) purifying the mind and that it should be performed without attachment to the fruits thereof. If one does an act with a view to enjoying its fruits he becomes irrevocably bound to *Karma* and its resultant pleasures and pains and is thereby prevented from crossing the ocean of *Mṛtyu-Samsāra*. Why should the desire for the fruits of *Karma* entangle him in the cobweb of *Samsāra*? The Ācārya explains that the man who mistakes the body, etc., to be the *Ātma* is at once deluded into the belief that much real pleasure is derivable from enjoying sense-objects. Just as the blind man stumbles on ruts, pits and on ground covered with thorns and brambles, the man without discrimination rambles about and tumbles down in his search after sensuous pleasures. This unrestricted desire for sensuous pleasures is like an intoxicant to the *Indriyas* or senses. The man unattached to sensuous pleasures is immune from the evil influence of the senses; and these senses, on the other hand, turn their attention *inwards* where resides the *Ātma* and as a consequence delusion is destroyed. But the man attached to sensuous pleasures is ever in the danger zone ready to collapse at any moment; the senses in his case do not go inward but wander about in search of more and more pleasures and the more their store of pleasures the greater their desires grow and the farther the Truth recedes. Wisely did Bhagavan Manu say: "By enjoying desire *Kāma* becomes insatiable even as fire increases more and more with *havis*, i.e., oblations" (*Manu Smṛti* II, 94).

Thus, so long as man retains relationship with the sense-objects known as *Sabda*, *Sparśa*, etc., (sound, touch, etc.,) his miserable condition in the ever-recurring cycle of births and deaths becomes a fixed necessity. For, his kinship with the unreal objects born of ignorance or *Avidyā* makes him lose his inherent lofty Brahmic state and mercilessly makes him experience the bitter fruits of transient misery-giving pleasures of the senses (*Kāmī*, *Kāncana*, etc.) When these take permanent abode in his mind they invite their other friends to settle with them. No wonder he is inextricably caught in their net and is made to dance to their tunes. Need we say that he will be subjected to the severest forms of tyranny at their cruel hands? Enamoured of the objects of *Kāma*, youths stray from the right path and are enmeshed in the maze of *Mṛtyu* (death). But, on the other hand, the wise equanimous men find amidst the fleeting transient world, their eternal state of beatific bliss. These souls alone are called valiant (*dhirās*). How do these *dhirās* conquer death and extricate themselves from the grip of *Samsāra*? They consider the sense-objects as unstable, unclean and misery-ridden and spurn them and treat them with the utmost contempt that they rightly deserve. They cleanse their minds of the impurities of *Kāma*. They thus become the *Mṛtyu* of the *Mṛtyu*, the devourer of death. He who destroys sensual desires by his discrimination (*Viveka*) becomes himself the slayer of death; he alone is really learned; he alone is clever; he alone has rightly understood himself.

## VEDIC STUDIES

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

### SECTION I.

#### THE ACT OF TRUTH IN THE RGVEDA

(Continued from page 236, Vol. XIV)

The word *apihitāni* in pāda c seems, in spite of the plural number and neuter gender, to be an attribute of the masculine singular noun *ūrvam* in b (see the translation of LUDWIG). I therefore believe that *ūrvām* has the force of the plural, and translate it as 'caves'. GELDNER, on the other hand, supplies the word 'treasures' after *apihitāni*, and translates pādas cd as 'die mit einem Stein verschlossenen (Schätze) freigegeben wie die aufgebrochene Erde'.

Regarding the mention of horses in connection with the prison of the cows, compare 10, 108, 7 (*ayam nidhiḥ sarame adribudhno gobhir asvebhir vasubhir nyṛṣṭah*) in which the Panis inform Saramā that the treasure within the mountain was 'ornamented with horses, cows and wealth'.

Regarding the expression *kṣās tatṛdānā*, compare *kṣāmā bhindāntah* in 4, 2, 16 explained above. I look upon *tatṛdānā* as nominative dual (masculine), and not (as Geldner does) as an epithet of *kṣāh*.

(45) 1, 100, 4: so āṅgirobhīr āṅgirastamo bhūd  
vṛṣā vṛṣabhiḥ sakhibhiḥ sakhaḥ san  
ṛgmibhir ḥgmiḥ gātubhir jyeṣṭho  
marutvān no bhavatv indra ūti||

"He, the strong one, became with the strong Āṅgirases the chief Āṅgiras, a friend with the friends, a chanter with the chanters, the best with the songs—may Indra accompanied by the Maruts come to us with his help".

Pāda d is the refrain and occurs at the end of the first fifteen verses of this hymn. The expression *gātubhir jyeṣṭhah* has been explained differently as ‘durch förderung der vorzüglichste’ (LUDWIG), ‘unter den Wegen der Beste’ (GELDNER, RV. Ueber.), ‘der Sänger bester’ (GRASSMANN), and as *gātubhiḥ gātavyebhyah stotavyebhyo ‘pi jyeṣṭhah atisayena stotavyah* (Sāyaṇa). The reference in *rgmibhir rgmī* and *gātubhir jyeṣṭhah* is to the spells of truth of the Aṅgirases and of Indra.

(46) 4, 17, 10: ayam śṛṇve adha jayann uta ghnann  
 ayam uta pra kṛṇute yudhā gāḥ|  
 yadā satyam kṛṇute manyum indro  
 viśvam dr̥ḍham bhayata ejad asmāt||

“He is well-known as conquering and smiting, and he drives forth the cows by means of a fight. When Indra makes a spell of truth, all solid (mountains or forts) move from fear of him”.

*satyam manyum*=*satyam mantram* or spell of truth; compare *satyo manyuh* in 2, 14, 14 explained above. Regarding the use of the verb *kṛ* with words denoting ‘spell’, compare 4, 16, 20: *eved īdrāya vṛṣabhāya vṛṣne brahmākarma* ‘we have thus made a spell for the strong excellent Indra’, and 10, 39, 14: *etam vām stōmam aśvināv akarma* ‘this hymn, O Aśvins, we have made for you’.

*viśvam dr̥ḍham*=all solid things; that is, all solid mountains or forts. The meaning of pādas cd is, ‘when Indra utters a spell of truth, even the solid mountains become, by virtue of the spell, mobile, that is, are hurled afar and shattered’. Sāyaṇa and other exegetists however understand *manyu* as ‘anger’,<sup>1</sup> and translate pāda d as ‘everything, fixed and moving, feels afraid of him’.

(47) 7, 75, 7: satyā satyebhir mahatī mahadbhir  
 devī devebhir yajatā ya jatraiḥ|  
 rujad dr̥ḍhani dadad usriyāṇāṁ  
 prati gāva uśasām vāvaśanta||

1. Geldner (RV. Ueber.) interprets *manyu* as *Eifer* here.

"The utterer of (spells of) truth, the great, divine, worshipful (Uṣas), with the (Aṅgirases), utterers of (spells of) truth, great, divine and worshipful, shattered the solid (mountain-prisons) and gave the cows. The cows lowed towards Uṣas".

This verse is addressed to Uṣas, who is called *aṅgirastamā* 'chief Aṅgiras' in verse 1 of this hymn: *aṅgirastamā pathyā ajigah* and in 7, 79, 3: *vi divo devī duhitā dadhāty aṅgirastamā sukrte vasūni*; and it represents her as shattering the mountain and freeing the cows in the company of the Aṅgirases who are referred to by the epithets *satyebhiḥ*, *mahadbhiḥ*, *devaiḥ* and *yajatraiḥ*.

Uṣas is similarly associated with the Aṅgirases in 6, 65, 5: *idā hi ta uṣo adrisāno gotrā gavām aṅgiraso gr̥anti* explained above, and in 4, 51, 4: *kuvit sa devīḥ sanayo navo vā yāmo babhūyād uṣaso vo adya| yenā navagve aṅgire daśagve saptāsyē revati revad uṣa* 'O Dawns, goddesses, is your way now old or new, is it (the same) as ye followed with wealth, O ye rich ones, when ye dawned on Navagva, Aṅgira, Daśagva and Saptāsyā'?<sup>1</sup> But while verses 10, 138, 1; 7, 76, 4; 4, 3, 11; 4, 1, 13; etc., explained above, make out that the Dawn, like the sun and the cows, was imprisoned in the mountain-prison of Vala and was freed, by means of spells of truth, by the Aṅgirases, Indra and Bṛhaspati, verses 7, 79, 3 and 7, 75, 1 and 7 (and 6, 65, 5 and 4, 51, 4 also?) make out that Uṣas too was associated with the Aṅgirases when they rent the mountain and freed the imprisoned cows. Similarly, Uṣas is said to have been produced by the Aṅgirases and to have opened the doors

1. The words *navagva*, *aṅgira* and *daśagva* have the force of the plural and denote the Navagvas, Aṅgirases and Daśagvas respectively. The word *saptāsyā* denotes either Bṛhaspati (this is the opinion of Geldner in *RV. Ueber.* who calls attention to 4, 50, 4: *bṛhaspatih . . . saptāsyas tuvijāto ravena* which has been explained above), or, more probably, the group of priests known as 'seven bards', *sapta viprāḥ*.

LUDWIG and GRASSMANN (*Wörterbuch* and *RV. Ueber.*) however regard *saptāsyē* as an epithet of *daśagve*.

of the solid mountain-prison in 7, 79, 4: *tāvad uṣo rādho asmaḥyam rāsva yāvat stotṛbhyo arado gṛṇānāḥ yām tvā jajñur vṛṣabhasyā rāvena vi dṛlhasya dūro adrēr aurñoh* “Give us that amount of wealth which thou, being praised, gavest to thy praisers (the Aṅgirases), O Dawn, whom they produced by means of a roar (like that) of a bull; thou didst open the doors of the solid mountain (-prison)” where the expression *vṛṣabhasyā rāvena* refers to the spells of truth employed by the Aṅgirases. Compare also 4, 51, 2: *vy u vṛajasya tamaso dvārocchantīr avrañc chucayah pāvakāḥ* ‘the clear, bright Dawns, drawing, opened the doors of the dark stable’ and 1, 92, 4: *jyotiḥ viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛṇvatī gāvo na vṛajam vy uṣā āvar tamah* ‘Making light for all the world, Uṣas has opened the dark stable and (set free) the cows’.

The epithet *satyebhīḥ* used in the above verse to denote the Aṅgirases signifies ‘utterers of (spells of) truth’; and hence the epithet *satyā* indicates that Uṣas too was an utterer of spells of truth, and that, like the Aṅgirases, she too employed such spells for rending the mountain and delivering the cows.

(48) 7, 75, 1: *vy uṣā āvo divijā ṛtenā-*  
*viśkr̄ṇvānā mahimānam āgāt-*  
*apa druhas tama āvar ajuṣṭam-*  
*aṅgirastamā pathyā ajīgah||*

“Uṣas, daughter of Heaven, has, by means of a (spell of) truth, opened (the doors of the mountain-prison); she has come, making manifest her greatness. She has opened the hated malignant dark (cave); the chief Aṅgiras has awakened the paths”.

In pāda a, *vyāvah* which is a transitive verb, has no object to govern; and I have therefore supplied the words *dṛlhasya dūrah* here on the analogy of 7, 79, 4: *vi dṛlhasya dūro adrēr aurñoh*. Alternatively, one can supply the word *tamah*; compare 1, 92, 4: *gāvo na vṛajam vy uṣā āvar tamah* cited above.

Sāyaṇa derives *vyāvah* from the root *vas* ‘to dwell’ and explains it as *vyaucchat vibhānam krtavatī*; Grassmann translates pāda a as ‘rechtzeitig brach hindurch die Himmelstochter’ and Ludwig as ‘aufgegangen ist Uṣas mit der richtigen zeit’.

“Awakened the paths”=made the paths come into use; *druhah*, in c, is probably neuter accusative plural; see OLDENBERG, *RV. Noten*. It can also be regarded as genitive singular referring to Vala (cp. 1, 1.1.4: *apa druhō mānuṣasya duro vah*) in which case pāda c would mean, ‘She opened the hated dark cave of the malignant Vala’.

(49) 4, 51, 7: tā ghā tā bhadrā uṣasah purāsur  
 abhiṣṭidyumnā ṛtajātasatyāḥ|  
 yāsv ijanah śāśamāna ukthai  
 stuvañ chamsan draviṇam sadya āpa||

“These beautiful Dawns of surpassing radiance were formerly born from the (spell of) truth and were utterers of spells of truth, from whom, the sacrificer, performing the work with hymns, singing and praising, received wealth immediately”.

*ṛtajātasatyāḥ* is a karmadhāraya compound of *ṛtajāta* and *satya*; the former term refers to the Dawn being born as a result of the spells of truth employed by the Aṅgirases, etc., and the latter, to the Dawn herself, after being born, uttering spells of truth with the Aṅgirases in order to liberate the cows, etc.

GLEDNER’S interpretation of *ṛtajātasatyāḥ* as ‘die rechtzeitig geborenen und zuverlässigen’ (*RV. Ueber.*), is, like those of LUDWIG (‘von ausz der heiligen ordnung entspringenden wahrhaftigkeit’), of HILLEBRANDT in *Lieder d. RV.* (‘wahrhaft kraft heiliger Ordnung’), and of GRASSMANN in his *Wörterbuch* (‘das durch heiliges Werk entsprossene Gebet wahr machend’), not satisfactory.

(50) 7, 90, 4: ucchann uṣasah sudinā ariprā  
 uru jyotir vividur dīdhyānāḥ|  
 gavyam cid ūrvam uśijo vi vavrus  
 tēśam anu pradivah sasrur āpah||

“The unblemished Dawns that bring good days dawned; uttering spells (of truth), they discovered the great light. The Uśis

opened the cave of the cows; there flowed forth for them the Waters of old”.

Regarding *dīdhyānāḥ*, see 4, 50, 1 explained above; it seems here to be an epithet of the Dawns. *uru jyotiḥ* is the sun; compare 7, 78, 3: *ajījanant sūryam yajñam agnim apācīnam tamo agād ajuṣṭam teṣām=teṣām arthāya*; see 6, 22, 3 explained above. The meaning of *anu pradīvah* is not certain.

(51) 13, 37, 2: sā mā satyoktiḥ pari pātu viśvato  
dyāvā ca yatra tatanann ahāni ca|  
viśvam anyan ni viśate yad ejati  
viśvāhāpo viśvāhodeti sūryah||

“May this spell of truth protect me on all sides where heaven and earth stretch and days stretch: ‘All others that move, rest; the Waters (move) always, the sun moves up always’ ”.

The spell of truth referred to in pāda a seems to be the statement contained in pādas c d. The meaning of pādas a b is: in all places where there are earth and sky, on all days, may the following spell of truth protect me on all sides.

Like AV. 4, 18, 1 explained above, this verse too contains a spell for the purpose of conferring protection. Compare Sāyaṇa’s explanation: sā satyoktiḥ tat satya-vacanam mā māṁ viśvataḥ sarvataḥ paripātu parirakṣatu yayā satyoktyā yatra yasmin deśe dyāvā ca pṛthivī ca dyāvā-pṛthiv्यau ahāni rātrayaś ca tatanan atanvan tatra viśvam̄ sarvam anyad bhūta-jātam ejati kampate viśvāhā sarvadā āpaś ca syandante viśvāhā sarvadā sūryaś codeti sā satyoktir māṁ paripātv ity arthaḥ. GELDNER’S explanation (*RV. Komm.*) of *dyāvā* as ‘night and day’ and of *satyokti* as ‘hymn to Sūrya’ seems to be less satisfactory than the explanations of Sāyaṇa.

(52) 10, 35, 7: pipartu mā tad ṛtasya pravācanam̄  
devānām̄ yan manuṣyā amanmahī|  
viśvā id usrāḥ spal ud eti sūryah  
svasty agnīm̄ samidhānam̄ imahe

“May that utterance of (the spell of) truth protect me, which we, men, have uttered before the gods, “The sun, lo! rises

verily in all mornings". We pray the kindled Agni for well-being"

Pāda d is the refrain which occurs at the end of ten, out of fourteen, verses of this hymn which is addressed to the Viśvedevas.

Like 10, 37, 2 explained above, this verse too seems to contain a spell for protection. In pāda c, I am inclined to agree with OLDENBERG (*RV. Noten*) that *spat* is an interjection. *amanmahi*=have uttered; see the explanation of 10, 138, 1 above.

Regarding the presence of gods at the time of uttering spells of truth, compare the observations of BURLINGAME (on pp. 432-3 l. c.) cited above in the explanation of 4, 1, 13; compare also the passage from the Tantrākhyāyikā cited above.

(53) 1, 67, 5: ajo na kṣām dādhāra pr̥thivīm  
tastambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyaiḥ||

Hymn 1, 67 is addressed to Agni and consists of ten *dvipadā* verses. The meaning of the above verse is: "Like the Unborn, he (Agni) supported the wide earth, he supported the sky, by means of spells of truth".

Regarding the comparison in pāda a, compare 8, 41, 10: *yā skambhena vi rodasi ajo na dyām adhārayat* 'Who has, with a pillar, supported heaven and earth, as the Unborn supports the sky'; 10, 82, 6: *ajasya nābhāv adhy ekam ārpitam yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tastuh* 'The one rests in the navel of the Unborn in whom all the worlds stand supported'; and 1, 164, 6: *vi yas tastambha ṣal īne rajāṁsy ajasya rūpe kiṁ api svid ekam* 'Is the one also (resting) in the body of the Unborn who has supported these six worlds'?

OLDENBERG interprets *aja* as 'goat' in SBE. 46, p. 61, and refers (in his note on p. 62) to his *Religion d. Veda*, p. 72. I believe however with Sāyaṇa, GELDNER (*RV. Über.*) and BERGAIGNE (III, 21 ff.) that *aja* signifies here 'unborn', that is, the supreme unborn god.

Pāda a, it will be noticed, contains two words *kṣām* and *pr̥thivīm*, denoting 'earth'. OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 61) construes the two words with *aja* and [agni] respectively, and

translates pāda a as, “As the goat (supports) the earth, thus he supports the earth”. Ludwig translates the pāda as, ‘als der ungeborene tragt er den wohnsitz, die erde’, and GELDNER (*RV. Über.*) as ‘wie der Ungeborene befestigte er den Erdbo-den’. Sāyaṇa interprets *kṣām* as ‘earth’ and *pr̥thivīm* as *antarikṣam*. GRASSMANN proposes in his *Wörterbuch* (s. v. *kṣā*) that one should read *kṣānam* instead of *kṣām*, and translates pāda a as ‘Als ew’ ger trug er - die Erd’ als Wohnsitz’ in his *RV. Über.*; and MAX MÜLLER conjectures (SBE. 46, p. 62) that the proper reading is *dyām*, not *kṣām*, and that the pāda signifies, ‘He, Agni, supports the earth as the buck the sky’. LANMAN and HILLEBRANDT propose (see OLDENBERG, *RV. Noten*) to emend *kṣām* to *kṣasam* and *kṣāyam* respectively.

For my part, I am inclined to believe that *pr̥thivīm* is an attribute of *kṣām* and denotes ‘wide’ here. Compare the analogous use of the word in 5, 85, 4: *unatti bhumim pr̥thivīm uta dyām* ‘he wets the wide earth and the sky’.

The expression *mantrebhīḥ satyaiḥ* should be construed with the word *tastambha* and with *dādhāra* also.

(54) 5, 1, 7: pra ḥu tyām vipram adhvareṣu sādhum  
 agnīm hotāram īlate namobhiḥ|  
 ā yas tatāna rodasi rtena  
 nityam mr̥janti vājinam ghṛtena||

“They worship him with adorations, Agni, the bard, the hotṛ efficient in the sacrifices, who has extended the two worlds by means of a (spell of) truth. They adorn (him), the beloved, (like a) racehorse, with ghee”.

In pāda c, the idea of supporting is implicit in that of extending as, without support, the extended worlds would collapse and the extending futile. The sentence *ā yas tatāna rodasi rtena* is thus almost synonymous with 1, 67, 5 explained above. Compare also in this connection 3, 6, 5: *tava kratvā rodasi ā tatantha* ‘Thou hast extended the earth and sky by means of thy spell’; 7, 5, 4: *tvām bhāsā rodasi ā tatanthā-*

*jasrena sōcisā sōśucānah* 'Shining with brightness, with inexhaustible brilliance, thou hast extended the earth and sky'; and 3, 5, 10: *ud astambhit samidhā nākam rṣvah* 'Becoming strong by means of billets of wood, he has supported the heaven'.

The spreading of the earth has been mentioned in 10, 62, 3 explained above and has been ascribed to the Aṅgirases; in 4, 50, 1, explained above, Bṛhaspati is said to have supported the ends of the earth; and similarly, in 1, 62, 2-7, likewise explained above, Indra and the Aṅgirases are said to have extended the earth and supported the upper world of heaven, and, further, Ayāsyā (i. e., Bṛhaspati) is also said to have supported the two worlds. This last-mentioned passage refers to the shattering of the mountain stronghold of Vala, the freeing of the rivers and the cows, and the winning of the Dawns and the sun, and mentions Saramā also; and it hence becomes clear (1) that the extending and supporting of the two worlds forms part of the feats connected with, and following, the shattering of Vala's fortress, and (2) that the Aṅgirases, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Saramā were all associated together in these feats, and that they performed them by using spells of truth.

Now, Agni too is said to be the first Aṅgiras in 1, 31, 1: *tvām agne prathamo aṅgirā ṛṣih* 'Thou, O Agni, art the first seer Aṅgiras (i.e., the best of the seers known as Aṅgirases)'; he is called *aṅgiras* in about twenty passages (see Grassmann, s. v. *aṅgiras*), and the epithet *aṅgirastama* is applied to him in 1, 31, 2: *tvām agne prathamo aṅgirastamah* 'Thou, O Agni, art the best of those known as *aṅgirastama* (chief of the Aṅgirases)', in 1, 75, 2: *athā te aṅgirastamāgne vedhastaṇa priyam| vocema brahma sānasi* 'We shall now utter, O Agni best of the Aṅgirases and of wise men, a spell dear to thee, that will win wealth', and in four other passages (see Grassmann, s. v. *aṅgirastama*). Accompanied by Indra, he is said to have fought and won the cows, Waters, etc., in 6, 60, 2: *tā yodhiṣṭam abhi gāindra nūnam apah svar uṣaso agna ūlhāḥ| diśah svar uṣasa indra citrā apo gā agne yuvase niyutvān* 'O Indra and Agni, ye two have fought for the cows, Waters, sun, and Dawns that had been carried (away); O Indra, thou givest the directions (i.e., thou dispellest the darkness), the sun, the beautiful Dawns, the waters and cows, O Agni that drivest

with a team'. He is said to have shattered forts in 7, 5, 3: *vaiśvānara pūrave śośucānah puro yad agne darayann adideh* 'O Agni Vaiśvānara, when thou didst shine, brilliant, shattering the forts for the sacrificer' and 1, 59, 6: *pra nū mahitvam vṛṣabhasya vocan̄ yam pūravo vṛtrahaṇam sacante| vaiśvānaro dasyum agnir jaghanvān̄ adhūnot kāṣṭhā ava śambaram bhet* 'I have praised now the greatness of the strong (Agni), the destroyer of Vṛtra whom the sacrificers follow. Agni Vaiśvānara, destroying the demon, shook the wooden palings (of the fort) and pierced into (the fortress of) Śambara'; and he is called *puraṇḍara* in 6, 16, 14: *tam u tvā dadhyān̄ ṛsih putra īdhe atharvanah|vṛtrahaṇam puraṇḍaram* 'The seer Dadhyān, son of Atharvan, has kindled thee (Agni), shatterer of forts and destroyer of Vṛtra', and other verses. He is said to have vanquished the Paṇis and released the Dawns in 7, 6, 3-4: *ny akatūn grathino mṛdhraवācaḥ paṇīn̄ asraddhān avṛdhān ayajñān prapra tān dasyūn̄ agnir vivāya pūrvas cakārāparān ayajyūn|| yo apācine tamasi madantih prāciś cakāra nṛtamah śacibhiḥ tam iśānam vasvo agnim gr̄ṇiṣe nānatām damayantām pṛtanyūn* "Agni has driven forth the Paṇis who are without sense, crooked, evil-speaking, without faith, without prayers, without sacrifices; being the first, he has made last the unsacrificing demons. I praise Agni, lord of wealth, unvanquished, the vanquisher of enemies, the best of heroes, who, by means of spells, made the (Dawns) that, with faces turned away, were revelling in the darkness, turn towards (the direction of the sacrificers)"; and he is praised for making the sun ascend the sky in 10, 156, 4: *agne naksatram ajāram ā sūryam rohayo divi| dadhaj jyotir Janebhyah* "O Agni, giving light to men, thou hast made the unaging star, the sun, mount, the sky" and 7, 9, 2: *sa sukratur yo vi durāḥ paṇīnām punāno arkam purubhojasam nah* 'he (Agni) of great insight, who, opening the doors (of the stronghold) of the Paṇis, brought into view clearly the sun, that provides us with many enjoyments'.

All these statements show clearly that, like Indra and Bṛhaspati, Agni too was one of the Angirasas, and was associated with them when, by means of spells of truth, they vanqui-

shed the Paṇis, shattered their mountain-fort, and released the cows, Dawns, sun, etc. The two verses explained above state explicitly that it was by means of spells of truth that Agni extended and supported heaven and earth.

I am now at the end of my material, and we can now review the results of the above investigation:

(1) The number of RV passages that have been cited above and that contain references to acts of truth is fifty-four.

(2) The word *rta* is used in twenty-one of these passages nos. 1, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 48, 49, 52 and 54), the word *satya* in fifteen<sup>1</sup> (nos. 2, 5, 13, 20, 24, 30, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51 and 53), and the word *satīna* in one (no. 40). In nineteen passages (nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 45 and 50), there is used no word signifying 'truth', but only words signifying 'hymn' (*arka*, *uktha*, *kāvya*, *śacī*, *dhī*, *dhīti*, *brahman*, *manas*, *manyu*, *vacas*, *stubh*) or 'roar' (*rava*, *virava*, *svara*; *arcān*, *kanikradat*, *grñāna*, *dīdhyāna*, *navanta*, *vāvaśāna*).

(3) The words used to denote 'spell of truth' are *rta*, *satya*, and in addition, *rtajātā gīḥ* (10, 138, 1), *rtadhīti* (6, 39, 2; 10, 47, 6), *sañnamanyu* (10, 112, 8), *satyamantra* (1, 20, 4 and 1, 67, 5; 7, 76, 4), and *satyamanyu* (2, 24, 14).

(4) the verb *kr* 'to do, to make' is used with *satya* in two passages, namely, in 5, 45, 7 and 4, 17, 10 (and also in AV. 4, 18, 1); and verbs meaning 'to speak, to utter' are used with *rta* in the following six passages: 1, 161, 9 (*vadantah*), 4, 33, 6 (*ūcuh*), 10, 138, 1 (*manvāndah*), 10, 67, 2 (*śamsantah*), and 4, 1, 13; 4, 2, 14 and 16 (*āśuṣāñnah*). The expressions *rta**śya pravācanam* and *satyokti* are used in 10, 35, 7 and 10, 37, 2 respectively.

(5) *satya* signifies 'act of truth' in five passages (5, 45, 7; 10, 47, 4; 3, 39, 5; 4, 22, 6; 4, 28, 5), and denotes 'ulterer of spells of truth' in 10, 67, 5 and 7, 75, 7.

(6) The actual wording of the spell of truth is given in three passages only, namely, in 1, 161, 9; 10, 35, 7 and 10, 37, 2 (and also in AV. 4, 18, 1). In the remaining passages there is merely a reference to spells of truth, and the spell itself is not given. In connection with such passages, one should compare

1. It will be noted that two passages (nos. 20, 49) contain both words, *satya* and *rta*.

the following observation of BURLINGAME on p. 464 l. c.: "By Acts of Truth, the terms of which the story-teller does not take the trouble to give, a prince cuts gems in two, a boy catches wild buffaloes, and an ascetic creates a child out of a flower (PARKER, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 140; Vol. II, pp. 28-9, 37)."

(7) Two out of the fifty-four passages (viz. 10, 35, 7; 10, 37, 2) refer to the employment of spells of truth for the purpose of protection (this is the case with AV. 4, 18, 1 also). The other fifty-two passages refer to the employment of such spells for the purpose of working miracles. The miracles referred to in nos. 1-10 are the rejuvenation of parents, quadruplication of a drinking cup, making of a self-moving chariot, etc.; those referred to in nos. 11-50; 53, 54 are the shattering of the mountain, freeing the cows and Waters, etc.

It is necessary to add that there are references to spells of truth in some of the other RV verses also. For instance, in 1, 142, 2: *etac cana two vi ciketad esām satyo mantrah kaviśasta rghavān| triraśrim hanti caturaśrir ugrā devanido ha prathamā ajūryan*, there is no doubt that *satyo mantrah* signifies 'spell of truth' though the meaning of the verse as a whole is obscure. Similarly, there is no doubt that a correct understanding of the other RV verses in which the word *rta* occurs will show that there is a reference to spells of truth in some of them. It is moreover very probable that, besides the passages cited above, there are in the RV other passages in which Indra or the Aṅgarasas are represented as shattering the mountain and freeing the cows and Waters, etc., by means of 'spells', that is, of spells of truth.

Finally, it must also be observed that the use of spells of truth is not confined to the two purposes mentioned above, namely, for the working of miracles and for ensuring protection: such spells are used (see the examples given by BURLINGAME on p. 464 l.c, and by E. Washburn HOPKINS in JAOS. 42, 318 ff.) for *śapatha* also, that is for cursing others, and for taking oaths (for Vedic examples, see OLDENBERG, *Religion d. Veda*, p. 416 ff.).

The name *sacca-kiriyā* however is not usually applied to acts of *śapatha*; and hence, such spells of truth do not come within the scope of this article.

## SECTION II.

### The root *śvas*, *śuṣ*.

The verb *śvas* is used in the RV in two stanzas (1, 65, 9; 6, 48, 29) and its participles (*śvasat*, *śāśvasat*) in six, while the verb *śuṣ* (which is another form of *śvas*) and its participles are used in about nine stanzas.

The author of the Vedic Nighaṇṭu includes *śvasiti* in the list of verbs that signify ‘to kill’ (*vadha-karmāṇi*; 2, 19) while the Dhātupāṭha explains its meaning as *prāṇana*. Sāyaṇa, in his RV-commentary, makes use of the latter meaning only in his explanation of the verb *śvasiti* (1, 65, 9) and the participles *śvasat* and *śāśvasat*; but the verb *upaśvāsaya* (in 6, 48, 29) is explained by him as *jaya-ghoṣeṇa āśvāsaya*; *yathā loka-dvayam tvadiyena śabdena āpūritam bhavati tādrśam śabdam kuru*. As for the verb *śuṣ* and its participles, which, with the exception of *śuṣantam* in 1, 60, 10, occur always in combination with the prefix *ā* in the RV, he regards *śuṣantam* in 1, 60, 10 as a participle of the root *śuṣ* ‘to dry’ (*śuṣa ṣoṣane*) and the words *āśuse* and *āśuṣānāsah* as formed from the root *āś* ‘to pervade (*āśū yāptau*)’; he has, in addition, explained *āśuṣāṇa* as (1) *āśuṣabdopapadāt sanateḥ karmanī aṇī*<sup>1</sup>; *āśu sīghraṇī sambhaktārah* *āśūn sambhaktāro vā* and (2) *samanītāt ṣoṣayitārah* in his explanation of 1, 147, 1. Veṅkata-mādhava, in his commentary on 1, 30, 16 explains *śāśvasadbhiḥ* as *atyantam śvasadbhiḥ*; and Skandasvāmin too similarly explains that word as *atyartham punaḥ-punar vā śvāsam kurvadbhiḥ* and *śvasiti* in 1, 65, 9 as *śvasana-sadṛśam śabdam karoti*. Uvaṭa, in his commentary on VS. 29, 55 (=RV. 6, 48, 29), explains *upaśvāsaya* as *upaśabdāya*, and Mahīdhara as *upaśvāsaya upaśabdāya*, *śvasiḥ śabdārthah*.

In the PW, Böhtlingk and Roth assign to *śvas* and *śuṣ* the meanings of *blasen*, *zischen*, *sausen*, *schnaufen*, *atmen*, *seufzen*, *aufseufzen*. The same meanings, or similar ones, are given to it by Grassmann also in his *Wörterbuch*; but *ā+śuṣ* is explained by him not only as *schnaufen*, *anfachen*, but also in *Thätigkeit setzen*, *anregen*, *erregen*. Similarly, GELDNER too

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1. This explanation is repeated by him in his commentary on 5, 36, 4 and 7. 93. 8. also.

in his *RV.* Gloss, explains *śvas* as *schnauen, fauchen, upa+śvāsay* as *achzen machen, stöhnen machen, drohnen machen*, and *ā+śuś* as (1) *antreiben, aneifern, anspornen zu* (8, 93, 16) (2) *sich anfeuern, sich bemühen, sich anstrengen* (5, 36, 4; 1, 147, 1; 2, 19, 7) (3) *betreiben, beschleunigen. sich beeilen mit* (7, 93, 8; 4, 1, 13; 2, 14, 16).

One of the passages cited in the PW in the article on *śvas* is Bhaṭṭikāvya 15, 23: *sapakṣo 'drir ivācālin nyāśvasit kalpa-vāyuvat| abhārṣid dyvaninā lokān abhrājiṣṭa kṣayāgnivat* which describes the sallying out of Kumbhakarṇa to fight against Rāma; and *ni+śvas* here signifies, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, ‘zischen, schnauen’. The wind, however, at the time of the destruction of the universe, does not merely ‘blow’, but blows making a loud sound; compare the epithets *pracanda, ghora, bhīma*, and particularly, *candra-sabdaṁ samudīrayantam* that are applied to the wind in the following passages that describe the destruction of the universe:

Matsyapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.) 166, 4:

vāyus ca balavān bhūtvā vidhunvāno 'khilam jagat|  
prāṇāpāna-samānādyān vāyūn ākarṣate Hariḥ||

Bhāgavata, XII, 4, 11-12:

tataḥ pracaṇḍa-pavano varṣāṇām adhikam śatam|  
paraḥ sāṁvartako vāti . . . . . ||

*Ibid.* XII, 9, 10-11:

brahmaṇa vāyur abhūn mahān|  
tam candra-sabdaṁ samudīrayantam  
valāhakā anvabhavan karālāḥ||

Brahma-purāṇa 50, 11-13:=[MBh. III, 191, 85]:

tatas tam mārutam ghoram . . . . . |  
ādiḥ padmālayo devaḥ pītvā svapiti bhārataḥ||

MBh. XII, 317, 10-11:

bhakṣayāmāsa bhagavān vāyur aṣṭātmako balī|  
vicarann amita-prāṇas tiryag ūrdhvam adhas tathā||  
tam apratibalaṁ bhīmam ākāśam grasate punaḥ|

And thus there can be no doubt that the meaning which the author of the above stanza intended to convey is: “He moved, (shaking the earth) like a winged mountain; he roared (as loudly) as the wind at the time of the destruction of the universe; he

filled the worlds with his shout; he blazed like the fire destroying the universe". Compare in this connection the stanzas

*sa laṅghayitvā prākāram giri-kūṭopamo mahān|  
niryayau nagarāt tūrṇam kumbhakarṇo mahābalah||  
nanāda ca mahā-nādām samudram abhinādayan|  
vijayanniva nirghatān vidhamanniva parvatān||*

that have been written by Vālmīki when describing the same event (*Rāmāyaṇa*, VI, 66, 1-2).

In other words, there can be no doubt that the verb *śvas* signifies 'to make a loud sound' in the above stanza, as it does in the following passages also:

*Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 101, 15:

*tam mattam iva mātaṅgam niśvasantam punah-punah|  
bhrātaram Bharataṁ Rāmaḥ pariṣvajyedam abravīt||*

"Rāma embraced his brother Bharata who was roaring loudly, again and again, like a wild elephant, and said to him".

*Ibid.* III, 65, 1-2: *tapyamānam tadā Rāmaṁ Sītā-haraṇa-*

*kārṣitam|*

*lokānām abhave yuktam sāṁvartakam  
ivānalam||*

*vikṣamāṇam dhanuh sajyam niśvasan-  
tam punah-punah|*

*dagduh-kāmam jagat sarvam yugānte  
ca yathā Haram||*

"Rāma, who was suffering and grieving on account of the abduction of Sītā, who, like the wind at the time of the destruction of the universe, was engaged in destroying the worlds, who, looking at his corded bow, was making a loud cry again and again, who, like Hara at the end of the cycle, was desirous of reducing the whole world to ashes".

*Ibid.* V, 5, 14: *mahā-gajaiś cāpi tathā nadadbhiḥ*

*supūjitaīś cāpi tathā susadbhiḥ|*

*rāraja vīraiś ca viniśvatasadbhir*

*hradā bhujāngair iva niśvasadbhiḥ||*

"[The city of Laṅkā] was resplendent with huge elephants that were roaring, with good men who were honoured, and with valiant soldiers who were crying loudly, as deep pools are with serpents making shrill sounds."

*Ibid.* VI, 53, 1-2: *Dhūmrākṣam nihatam śrutvā Rāvaṇo  
rākṣaseśvaraḥ|*

krodhena mahatāviṣṭo niśvasann  
urago yathāḥ||  
dīrgham uṣṇam viniśvasya krodhena  
kaluṣikṛtaḥ||

“Rāvaṇa, king of the *rākṣasas*, hearing that Dhūmrākṣa was killed, overcome with anger, making a shrill sound like a serpent, heaving long and hot breaths, excited by anger”.

*Ibid.* VI, 60, 28: *ūrdhvā-lomāñcita-tanum śvasantam iva pannagam|*

“In whose body the hair was standing upright, who was making a shrill sound like a serpent.”

*Ibid.* VI, 93, 1: sa praviśya sabhāṁ rājā dīnāḥ parama-  
duḥkhitāḥ||  
niśasādāsane mukhye siṁhaḥ kruddha iva  
śvasan||

“That king, in dejection and great distress, entered the council-chamber and sat on the chief seat, roaring like an angry lion”.

*Ibid.* VI, 70, 87: Aṅgadasya vacaḥ śrutvā pracukrodha  
Narāntakah||  
sandaśya daśanair oṣṭham niśvasya ca  
bhujaṅgavat||

“Hearing the words of Aṅgada, Narāntaka became angry, biting his lips with his teeth, and making a shrill sound like a serpent”.

*Ibid.* VI, 108, 10:

[śaram] sarva-vitrāsanam bhīmam śvasantam iva  
pannagam|

“[An arrow], terrible, inducing fear in all, and making a shrill sound like a serpent” likewise *ibid.* VI, 108, 3: *jagrāhasa śaram diptam niśvasantam ivoragam* and Mahābhārata VIII, 51, 27: *sa pañcadaśa nārācān śvasataḥ pannagān iva| jighāṃsur bharataśreṣṭham Dhṛṣṭadyumno vyapāśrjat*. Compare with them *ibid.* VII, 117, 5: *tato 'sya bāṇān aparān īdrāśani-sama-svanān| Bhāradvājo 'ntara-prekṣī preṣayāmāsa samyuge* and 131, 46: *te śarāḥ preśitās tena Bhīmasenena samyuge| nipetuḥ sarvato vīra kūjanta iva pakṣināḥ* which employ the terms *kūjanta iva pakṣināḥ* and *īdrāśani-sama-svanān* to denote the sound made by the flying arrows.

Compare also the following passages of the Mahābhārata :  
VI, 106, 67-68 :

Pārthas tu viṣṭabhya balāc caraṇau para-vīrahā|  
nijagrāha Hṛṣikeśam kathaṁ cid daśame padē||  
tata evam uvācārtah krodha-paryākulekṣaṇam|  
niśśvasantam yathā nāgam Arjunaḥ praṇayāt sakhā||

VII, 15, 25 :

te gade gadinām śreṣṭhe samāsādyā parasparam|  
śvasantyau nāga-kanyeva saṣṭjāte vibhāvasum||

(Compare with this the passage, śuśruve dīksu sarvāsu tayoḥ  
purusa-simhayoh| gadābhigāta-samhrādaḥ śakrāśani-ravopamah  
occurring in the third verse following :) |

VII, 87, 1-3 :

tasyām niśāyām vyuṣṭāyām Droṇaḥ sastra-bhṛtām  
varaḥ|  
svāny anikāni sarvāni prākrāmad vyūhitum tataḥ||  
śūrāṇām garjatām rājan saṃkruddhānām amarśiṇām|  
śrūvante sma giraś citrāḥ paraspara-vadhaiśiṇām||  
viṣphārya ca dhanūmṣy anye jyāḥ pare parimṛjya ca|  
viniśvasantah prākrośan kvedānīm sa Dhanamjayaḥ||

VII, 98, 3-4 :

saṃprasruta-krodha-viṣo vyāditāsyā-śārāsanah|  
tīkṣṇa-dhāreṣu-daśanah sita-nārāca-damṣṭravān||  
saṃrambhamarṣa-tāmrākṣo mahoraga iva śvasan|  
nara-vīraḥ pramuditaḥ ṣoṇair aśvair mahā-javaiḥ||

VII, 99, 50-51 :

tatra tatra maheśvāsaiḥ śvasadbhiḥ ṣoṇitokṣitaiḥ|  
hayair nāgaiś ca saṃbhinnair nadadbhiś cārikarśana||  
saṃrabdhaiś cāribhir vīraiḥ prārthayadbhir jayam  
mr̥dheḥ|  
ekasthair bahubhiḥ kruddhair ūśmeva samajāyata||

VII, 127, 61 :

atha Bhīmas tu tac chrutvā guror vākyam aśeṣataḥ|  
kruddhaḥ provāca vai Droṇaḥ rakta-tāmrekṣaṇah  
śvasan||

VII, 259, 2-4 :

ayam sa kālāḥ saṃprāpto mitrāṇām mitra-vatsala|  
trāyasva samare Karṇa sarvān yodhān mahā-rathān||  
Pāñcālair Matsya-Kaikeyaiḥ Pāṇḍavaiś ca mahā-  
rathaiḥ|

vṛtāḥ samantāt saṃkruddhair niśvasadbhir ivoragaiḥ|  
ete nadanti saṃhṛṣṭāḥ Pāñdavā jita-kāśinah|  
śakropamāś ca bahavah Pāñcālānām ratha-vrajāḥ||

*Ibid.* VII, 204, 44ff.:

tatas cakṣatur Bhīmam sarva-śastrāyudhāni ca|  
Nārāyaṇāstra-śānty-artham Nara-Nārāyaṇau balāt||  
ākṛṣyamāṇah Kaunteyo nadaty eva maha-ravam|  
vardhate caiva tad ghoram Drauṇer astraṁ sudur-  
jayam||

tam abravid Vāsudevah kim idam Pāṇḍu-nandanaḥ|  
vāryamāṇo'pi Kaunteya yad yuddhān na nivartase||  
yadi yuddhena jeyāḥ syur ime Kaurava-nandanāḥ|  
vayam apy atra yudhena tathā ceme nararśabhbāḥ||  
rathebhyaḥ tv avaṭīrṇāḥ sma sarva eva hi tāvakāḥ|  
taṣmāt tvam api Kaunteya rathāt tūrṇam apākrama||  
evam uktvā tataḥ Kṛṣṇo rathād bhūmim avartayat|  
niśvasantam yathā nāgām kroḍha-saṃrakta-locanam||  
yadā 'pakṛṣṭāḥ sa rathān nyāsitaś cāyudham yudhi|  
tato Nārāyaṇāstram tat praśāntam śatru-tāpanam||

The root *śvas* signifies ‘to make a loud (or shrill) sound’ in these passages. In VI, 106, 68, *niśvasantam yathā nāgam*=roaring like an elephant; in VII, 87, 3, *viniśvasantah prākrośan* means ‘making a loud sound, they cried out; they cried out loudly’, and *viniśvasantah* is synonymous with *garjatām* in the preceding verse and with *simha-nādam cakruḥ* used frequently elsewhere on similar occasions. Similarly, in VII, 201, 19, *niśvasantam yathā nāgam* signifies ‘roaring loudly like an elephant’; compare the expression *nadaty eva mahāravam* in V. 15 preceding.

It should be noted that the meanings *blasen*, *zischen*, *sausen*, *schnaufen*, *atmen*, *seufzen*, *aufseufzen*, etc., given in the PW and Grassmann’s *Wörterbuch* for *śvas* are wholly inappropriate in expressions like *mattam iva mātaṅgam niśvasantam* and *simhaḥ kruddha ivaśasan*, and that the only meaning that fits the word there is ‘to make a loud sound; to shout; to roar’. This is the signification of *śvas* in almost all the RV passages also where it occurs, as I shall now show.

(1) 1, 65, 9: śvasity apsu hamso na sīdan  
                          |      |      |      |  
                          kratvā cetiṣṭho viśām uśarbhut||

"He [Agni] makes a loud sound, like a swan about to sit in water; most distinguished by insight, he wakes at dawn among the people".

Pāda a seems to be a continuation of the preceding verse, *yad vātajūto vanā vy asthād agnir ha dāti romā pṛihivyāḥ*, and the meaning of the three pādas is, "When, impelled by the wind, Agni has spread through the forests, he shears the hair (*i.e.*, the vegetation) of the earth, making a loud sound like a swan about to sit in water". Compare 10, 45, 4: *akrandad agnih stanayann iva dyauḥ kṣamā rerihad vīrudhah samañjan* 'Licking the earth again and again, consuming the plants, Agni made a loud sound like the thundering sky'; 1, 94, 10: *yad ayukthā aruṣā rohiā rathe vātajūtā vṛṣabhasyeva te ravaḥ ād invasi vanina dhūmaketunāgne sakhye mā risamā vayam tava* 'When thou hast yoked to the chariot the two bright red horses, the roar is like that of a bull; thou then movest to the trees with thy smoke-bannered (chariot); may we not, in thy friendship, O Agni, suffer any injury'; 1, 58, 2: *ā svam adma yuvamāno ajaras tṛṣv avisyann atasesu tiṣṭhati atyo na pṛṣṭham pruśitasya rocate diṣṭo na sāmu stanayann acikradat* 'Grasping his food, he (Agni), the unaging, spreads among the brushwood greedily consuming; the back of the burning one shines like that of a horse; he roared like the ridge of heaven'; 1, 58, 4: *vi vātajūto atasesu tiṣṭhaie vṛthā juhūbhīḥ srṇyā tuvisvanīḥ* 'Driven by the wind and roaring loudly, he (Agni), spreads impetuously among the brushwood with his sickle-lige tongues'. In these verses, the loud sound made by Agni when consuming the vegetation is compared to the roaring of a bull or to thunder, while, in 1, 65, 9, it is compared to the loud cry of a swan. This latter forms the *upamāna* in 3, 53, 10: *hamsā iva kṛṇutha ślokam adribhiḥ* 'Like swans, ye make a loud sound with stones', and 10, 67, 3: *hamsair iva sakhibhir aśmanmanyāni nahānā vyasyan* 'Loosening the bonds of stone in the company of friends who were making a loud sound like swans'. Compare also 10, 68, 1: *udapruto na vayo rakṣamāṇā vāvadato*

*abhriyasyeva ghosāḥ* ‘making loud sound like . . . aquatic birds resonant like the sounds produced by clouds’.

Pāda a has been translated as ‘he hisses like a swan’ by Geldner (*RV. Über.*), Oldenberg (SBE. 46, p. 54), Grassmann (*RV. Über.*) and Ludwig. This rendering however seems to me to be quite untenable. In the first place, the sound made by a swan is not a ‘hiss’ at all; it is a sort of cackle (see Apte’s Dictionary f. v. *hamṣa-nāda*) or squawk and is denoted in classical Sanskrit literature by words like *jalpita* (cp. *Harsacarita*, Nirṇayasagara ed., p. 81-12, 13: *viralī-bhavati varāṇam veśanta-śayinīnam mañjuni mañjīra-śīñjita-jade jalpite*). *nāda* (cp. *Naisadhiyacarita* 1, 117: *rīramṣu-hamṣī-kala-nada-sadaram*; *Bhaṭṭikāvya* 2, 7: *akarṇayann utsuka-hamṣa-nadan*), *ruta* (cp. *Kirātārjunīya* 4, 30: *sita-cchadanam apadiśya dhavatam rutai* (v.l. *ravai*) *ramīṣam grathitah patatriṇam*), *kūjita* (cp. *ibid.* 4, 1: *tataḥ sa kūjat-kala-hamṣa-mekhalam*; *Subhāsitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, 1911 ed., p. 350, v. 33: *tanurhaṇi puro vijitadhvaner dhavala-pakṣa-vhiaṅgama-kūjitaiḥ jagalur aksamayeva śikhāṇḍinaiḥ*) and *kreñkāra* (cp. Hema-candra’s scholium on his *Kārvāṇuśāsana*, p. 12: *helandolita-hamṣa-sarasa-kula-kreñkara-saṁmūrchitaiḥ*) all which words denote loud sounds. In the RV itself, the sound of the swan is referred to by the words *ślokam kr̥* and *vāvad* in the two verses cited above. The only other reference in it to the sound of the swan is, according to Grassmann (*Wörter.*) in 4, 45, 4: *hamsāso ye vām madhumanto asridho hiranyatarnā uhūva usarbudhah* where the epithet *uhūvah* is interpreted by him as ‘making a loud cry (*schreiend*)’. Compare also Macdonell’s observation, ‘These birds are described as dark in colour in the back; they fly in troops, swim in the water, make loud noises, and are wakeful at night’ in *Vedic Index*, Vol. 2, s.v. *hamsa*.

Secondly, the sound made by Agni too is referred to in the RV by words like *krand*, *nad*, *stan*, all signifying ‘to make a loud sound to roar’. This sound is also, in the passages cited above and in many others (e.g. 5, 25, 8: *uto te tanyatur yathā svāno artha tmāna divah*; 7, 3, 10: *divo na te tanyatur eti śusmāḥ*; 3, 2, 11: *vṛṣā citresu nānadan na simhah*), compared to the roaring of a bull, a lion or thunder; and hence

there can be no doubt that, as in the passages cited above from the Ram and MBh, so in 1, 65, 9 too, *śvas* signifies 'to make a loud sound' and not 'to hiss'.

(2) 6, 47, 29: upa śvasaya pṛthivīm uta dyām  
 purutra te manutam viṣṭhitam jagat|  
 sa dundubhe sajūr indreṇa devair  
 dūrad daviyo apa sedha śatrūn||

"Make the earth and heaven resound, let the extended world praise thee in many ways. With Indra and the gods, O drum, derive the enemies further and further".

All interpreters, including Sayaṇa and Uvaṭa, are agreed that *upasvāsaya* in this verse is equivalent to *upaśabdaya*, *śabdena āpūraya*. Compare also the words *ākrandaya*, *nīṣṭānihi* and *apaprotha* in the next verse: ā krandaya balam ojo na ā dhā nīh ṣṭānihi duritā bādhamaṇah apa protha dundubhe ducchunā ita indrasya mustir asi vilayasya "Make a loud sound, O drum and confer on us strength and vigour! peals driving away difficulties, blare away evil-disposed person, from here. Thou art the first of Indra, show thyself strong".

THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRIYA  
PRATISAKHYA

BY  
C. R. SANKARAN,  
*Poona.*

(Continued from page 241, Vol. XIV)

दीपायता करुणानां मृदुमध्यमयोस्तथा ॥  
श्रुतीनां योऽविशेषज्ञोऽन स अचार्य उच्यते ॥  
दीपामन्द्रे द्वितीये च प्रचतुर्थे तथैव तु ॥  
अतिस्वारे तृतीये च क्रुष्टेतु करुणाश्रुतिः ॥  
श्रुतयोऽन्या द्वितीयस्य मृदुमध्यायताः स्मृताः ॥

(Nār. Śikṣā i, vii, Verses 8, 9 and 10)

The commentary says:—

प्रथमस्य मृदुभूता, सप्तमस्य करुणा ॥

The following is a table showing the distribution of svaras to various Srutis according to the verses quoted above and the commentary.

TABLE 1.

सामस्वर	लैकिकस्वर	श्रुति
क्रुष्ट	प	करुणा
प्रथम	म	मृदु
द्वितीय	ग	दीपा, आयता, मृदु, मध्या under different conditions
तृतीय	रि	दीपा
चतुर्थ	स	दीपा
मन्द	ध	दीपा
अतिस्वार्य	नि	दीपा

As a result of the gradual decrease of one Śruti of the Madhyamagrāma vīṇā of Bharata which is called Dhruva vīṇā by Matanga, we get the following result that no Śruti is gained, i.e., no two notes coincide with each other as the Table No. 2 shows. Table No. 3 shows the fixation of Śrutis and notes in Madhyamagrāma vīṇā.

TABLE NO. 2

S. Number of Śrutis.	षड्जमवीणा	मध्यमप्रामधीणा
1.		
2.	C	स
3.		
4.		स
5.		स
6.		
7.	D	रि
8.		रि
9.	E	ग
10.		ग
11.		
12.		
13.	F	म
14.		म
15.		
16.		
17.	G	प
18.		प
19.		
20.	A	ध
21.		ध
22.	B	नि
1.		नि
2.		
3.		
4.		

TABLE NO. 3

1. Dīpta	Tīvrā	नि
2. Āyatā	Kumudvatī	
3. Mṛdu	Mandā	
4. Madhyā	Chandovatī	स
5. Karuṇā	Dayāvati	स
6. Madhyā	Rāñjanī	
7. Mṛdu	Raktikā	
8. Dīptā	Raudrī	रि
9. Āyatā	Krodhā	
10. Dīptā	Vajrikā	ग
11. Āyatā	Prasārinī	
12. Mṛdu	Prīti	
13. Madhyā	Mārjanī	
14. Mṛdu	Kṣiti	म
15. Madhyā	Raktā	
16. Āyatā	Samdīpanī	
17. Karuṇā	Ālāpinī	
18. Karuṇā	Madanti	प
19. Āyatā	Rohinī	
20. Madhyā	Ramyā	
21. Dīptā	Ugrā	ध
22. Madhyā	Kṣobhini	
1. Dīptā	Tīvrā	नि

The distribution of Svaras according to Table No. 3 is in agreement with that in Table No. 1 but for the fact that the Śruti assigned for Śadja according to Table No. 1 is दीता while according to Table No. 3 is करुणा.

गान्धार can be assigned to आयता, मरुदु and मध्या (श्रुतिस 11, 12 and 13) too (of course under different conditions), according to Table No. 1. If we designate now निषादा in Table No. 3 as शद्जा and correspondingly change the nomenclature of the subsequent notes in order, then we get the following results.

TABLE NO. 4

		Svaras of Table No. 3	Converted Svaras
1.	Diptā	तीव्रा	नि स
2.	Āyatā	कुमुद्वती	
3.	Mṛdu	मंदा	
4.	Madhyā	छंदोवती	
5.	Karuṇā	दयावती	स रि
6.	Madhyā	रंजनी	
7.	Mṛdu	रक्तिका	
8.	Diptā	रौद्री	रि ग
9.	Āyatā	क्रोधा	
10.	Diptā	वञ्चिका	ग म
11.	Āyatā	प्रसारिणी	
12.	Mṛdu	प्रीति	
13.	Madhyā	मार्जनी	
14.	Mṛdu	क्षिति	म प
15.	Madhyā	रक्ता	
16.	Āyatā	संदीपिनी	
17.	Karuṇā	आलापिनी	
18.	Karuṇā	मदंती	प ध
19.	Āyatā	रोहिणी	
20.	Madhyā	रस्या	
21.	Diptā	उप्रा	ध नि
22.	Madhyā	क्षेभिणी	
1.	Dipta	तीव्रा	नि स
2.	Āyatā	कुमुद्वती	

- |           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| 3. Mṛdu   | मंदा    |
| 4. Madhyā | छंदोवती |

[Tables 2 and 3 are reproductions of Supplements 1 and 2 from Mr. M. R. Telang's "The 22 Śrutis of Indian Music—A complete exposition—Being a lecture delivered before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 22nd April 1931. Poona 1933" pages 22-23]

Column 4 of Table No. 4 agrees with the fixation of notes to the proper Śrutis in the Kāfi Rāga of Hindustini music<sup>1</sup>.

According to Venkaṭa Makhin, the following is the distribution of *Svaras* to *Śrutis* for our Rāga, Kharaharapriyā (the 22nd Mela) which he calls श्रीराग<sup>2</sup>—[the nearest approach to Sāman scale. See below.]

TABLE NO. 5

1.	12.	म
2.	13.	
3.	14.	
4.	15.	
5.	16.	प
6.	17.	
7.	18.	
8.	19.	
9.	20.	
10.	21.	ध
11.	22.	नि

1. Vide हिंदुस्थानी संगीतपद्धति क्रमिकपुस्तकमालिका चौथे पुस्तक संपादक पं. दत्तात्रेय केशव जोशी

Published by Mr. Bhalachandra Sitaram Sukathankar M.A., L.L.B., 2 Malabar Hill, Bombay, page 7.

2. Vide अनुबन्ध: Verse 6 page 1. Caturdaṇḍi Prakāśika of Venkaṭa Makhin—Madras Music Academy Series No. 3.

Cf. तिक्ष्णः प॒ष्ठ॑जे॒थरिष्मे॒ पञ्चगे॒ त्वेकै॒कैवमे॒ ।

तिक्ष्णः पे॒ तु॒ चतुर्थः॒ स्युः॒ धे॒ पञ्चै॒कैवनौ॒स्मृताः॒ ॥

Vide ibid मेलप्रकरणम् Verse 134 पृ. ४७ (page 47)

Here the assignment of the eighth Śruti to Rṣabha and the twenty first Śruti to Dhaivata is in agreement with what we find in column 3 of Table No 4. Doubtless we may be sure that in the Sāman scale this was the original distribution of Śrutis to these notes Rṣabha and Dhaivata which were the keynotes. (See below).

Just as at one time in the early history of Vedic music, when only three notes were known, there was occasionally a leap to reach the fourth, even so at a later stage of Vedic music when six notes were only known there should have been now and then a leap to touch the seventh the अतिस्वार्य (our निषाद) which was undoubtedly an 'extra-note'<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the emergence of निषादस्वर as a distinct and separate note in the Sāman scale, it was perhaps contained within the embryo of मन्त्र (our धैवत). One could appreciate the tenability of this guess if one bears in mind that the nearest approach to Sāman scale is our Rāga Kharaharapriyā<sup>2</sup>

It can be clearly seen that in the चतुः श्रुतिः धैवत of that Rāga, कौशिकिनिषाद (b flat) is merged and it cannot escape one's observation that we pass through this निषाद to reach the said धैवत. <sup>3</sup> It is not unlikely that at a later stage this निषादस्वर was

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1. Cf. Fox Strangways. Music of Hindostan page, 260.
  2. According to M. Seshagiri Sāstri (Descriptive Catalogue Vol. I Vedic Literature, First part, pages 76-78. (Sāman scale corresponds to the Rāga Ābhogi, which is but a *janya*(a derivative)of the parent *Kharaharapriyā*. It is to be remembered that the Rāga Ābhogi is निषादवर्ज and also पञ्चमवर्ज and in the Sāma Veda chant, the sixth note निषाद and the seventh (कृष्ट=पञ्चम) occur very rarely; hence it is that M. Seshagiri Sāstri says that the melody of the Sāma Veda which is uniform, may be identified with the Rāga, called Ābhogi, which itself is a derivative Rāga referred to the original Kharaharapriyā and whose notes are स रि ग म ध स.

Swami Vipulānanda of Ceylon, in his lecture on "A Study of the mathematical basis of ancient Tamil music" delivered under the auspices of the Madras University on the 24th February, 1936 observed that it was evident that the first note of the ancient Tamil musical scale was Madhyama and that the first Rāga of the ancient Tamilians was also the Kharaharapriyā. [Vide also the report of the lecture in the Hindu of the 25th February, 1936, page 14, Column 3.]

3. The following is Venkata Makhin's definition of the Rāga Kharaharapriyā (which he chooses to call श्रीराग):

षड्जश्च पञ्चश्रुतिकरिष्मभाल्यः स्वरः परः ।

साधारणाल्यगांधारः शुद्धौमध्यमपञ्चमौ ॥

recognised to be a distinct and separate one<sup>1</sup>.

In all probability, in days when instrumental music was little known or unknown (almost in prehistoric times), it is very likely that a reversal in the order of svaras like सधनि (instead of the regular सनिध) was retained, purely as a matter of convenience and audibility<sup>2</sup>.

चतुः श्रुतिर्धैवतश्च कैशिक्याख्यनिषादकः ।

एतैः सप्तस्वरैर्जातः श्रीरागस्य तु मेलकः ॥

श्लो० १३१—१३३ (verses 132-133)

मेलप्रकरणम् पृ. ४७ (page 47)

चतुर्दण्डप्रकाशिका प्रथमोभागः संगीतविद्वत्सभाग्रन्थमाला ३

Compare also the following:

शुद्धषड्जोऽथ पञ्चश्रुत्यृष्टमश्च ततः परम् ।

स्यात्साधारणगांधारः शुद्धौमध्यमपञ्चमौ ॥

पञ्चश्रुतिर्धैवतश्च कैशिक्याख्यनिषादकः ।

एतैः सप्तस्वरैर्युक्तः श्रीरागस्य च मेलकः ॥

Svaramelaikalānidhi मेलप्रकरणम्. Verses 16 and 17, page 22.

Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer's edition.

Rāmāmātya explains in the following stanzas what he means by Pañcaśruti Rṣabha and Pañcaśruti Dhaivata.

लक्ष्येतु कुत्रचिन्चुद्गान्धारस्थानमाश्रयम् ।

रिषभः कीर्त्यते॒ऽस्माभिः पञ्चश्रुत्यृष्टभाह्यः ॥

एवं शुद्धनिषादस्य स्थाने धैवत आरिथतः ।

लक्ष्यानुरोधाद्गदितः सपञ्चश्रुति धैवतः ॥

ibid स्वरप्रकरणम्. Verses 53, 54, 55 and 56, page 12.

See also ibid Introduction page XXVI and f. n. 1 and page xxix and f. n. 2 also page XXXVI and f. n. 2.

1. “अतिस्वार्य was the last addition to the lower end.” *Vide* Contributions to the study of Ancient Hindu Music by P.R. Bhandarkar Indian Antiquary Volume XLI, page 163.

2. It must be in very ancient times that the instrumental music was unknown in India for in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā 7, 5, 9 reference is made to the *Vāṇa*, lute with a hundred strings and the *Bhūmi Dundubhi*, the Earth-Drum, which perhaps has its equivalent now in the *Ghaṭa Vādyam*.

(*Vide*: N. K. Venkatesan, Musical Instruments in Ancient India.

Sāyaṇa, doubtless properly understood that the Sāman scale was a downward series as is evidenced by the following passages in his commentary on Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa. Says he in his commentary on the following:

तथोसौ क्रुष्टम् इव सामः स्वरस्तं देवा उपजीवन्ति ।

(Burnell's edition of Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa I, i, 8.)

क्रुष्टादय एव यमा उच्यन्ते ते चोत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति ॥

इव इत्येवकारार्थोऽत्यतं उच्चस्वर एव अस्ति गानकाले तं स्वरं देवा:  
इन्द्रादयः उपजीवन्ति ॥

(Burnell's edition, page 4.)

Again on क्रष्टः प्राजापत्यो ब्राह्मो वा वैश्वदेवः

(Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, I, i, 14.)

Says Sāyaṇa :—

यः क्रुष्टाख्यः उत्तमस्वरोऽस्ति तस्य प्रजापतिर्ब्रह्मा विश्वेदेवास्त्रयो  
विकल्पेन देवाः

(Burnell's edition, page 8.)

But perhaps being influenced by the fact that the *avarohī* (descending order) in secular music of his time came to be firmly established in the following order :—

नि, ध, प, म, ग, रि, स, Sāyaṇa rather uncritically equated them with क्रुष्ट etc. Hence in his Bhāṣya on सामविधानब्राह्मण he says the following :—

लौकिके ये निषादादयः सप्त स्वराः प्रसिद्धाः त एव साम्नि क्रुष्टादयः  
सप्तस्वराः भवन्ति । तथथा यो निषादः स कुष्टः, धैवतः प्रथमः, पञ्चमः  
द्वितीयः, मध्यमस्तृतीयः, गान्धारश्वर्तुर्थः, ऋ(रि)षभो मन्द्रः, षड्जोऽतिस्वर्य  
इति<sup>1</sup> ॥

Dharmarājya, 16th November, 1935.)

वाणः शततन्तुर्भवति दुन्दुभीन् समान्नन्ति भूमिदुन्दुभीम् आग्नान्ति  
T. S. 7, 5, 9. Ānandāśrama series, No. 42, part 8, pages 4716-7.

1. I am unable to see on what basis Mr. Swarup assumes that क्रुष्ट etc., correspond respectively to नि, स, रि, ग, म, प, ध of secular scale (*Vide* Swarup's theory of Indian Music, chapter III and IV, p. 18ff.).

Mr. C. V. Vaidya also, to my mind, does not clearly state his views regarding the point. *Vide* his History of Sanskrit Literature Volume I—Śruti (Vedic) period—Section I—Samhitas IX. Sāmaveda, page 116 also. *ibid.* Note 1. Sāma singing, page 121,

Thus we see that the *Tṛtīya Svara* in *Sāman* chant is our *Rṣabha*. We learn that this *Tṛtīya Svara* was significantly called *dhrta*, from *Vaidikābharāṇa* (a commentary on *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*) by *Gārga Gopālayajvan*. Says he:—

कुष्टादीनां सप्तानां स्वराणां मध्ये तृतीयाख्यो यो मध्यमः स्वरः तस्य  
धृत इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञा ॥ कुष्टप्रथमद्वितीया उत्क्षेपिणः । चतुर्थमन्द्रातिस्वार्या  
अपक्षेपिणः । तृतीयस्तु उभयरहितो मध्ये लीयमानत्वात् धृतसंज्ञः ॥

(*Vide* Mysore edition of Taitt. Prāt, page 451.)<sup>1</sup>

We learn also that the *Tṛtīya Svara* of the *Sāman* scale and *pracaya* are identical. Says *Gopālayajvan*:—

उदात्तस्तु किञ्चिद्दुक्षिष्पते इति धृतोदात्तयोरीषद् विशेषः । अत एव  
'उदात्तश्रुतिः' (XXI. 10.) इति उदात्तस्येव श्रुतिः प्रचयस्येति इवार्थं उपपद्यते ।  
तस्मादेतावानुदात्तप्रचययोर्भेद इति प्रकटनार्थं धृत इति विशेषणम् ॥

(*ibid.* page 451.)

Again:—

मन्द-चतुर्थ-तृतीय द्वितीयास्युः अनुदात्तस्वरितप्रचयोदात्ताः

(*Vide* Mahiṣeya Bhāṣya on Taitt. Prat. XXIII, 16. Also see on XXIII, 17.

तृतीयचतुर्थीं प्रचयस्वरितौ

Veṅkatarama Sharma's edition, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. I, page 184).

1. Cf. द्वितीय-प्रथम-कुष्टस्त्रय आङ्गारकस्वराः

(Taitt. Prāt. XXIII, 15.)

Mahiṣeya Bhāṣyam (Madras University, Sanskrit Series, No I, page 184, 1930.)

एते त्रयः स्वरा आङ्गारकाः आयामो दारूणमिति लक्षणवशादुत्क्षेपिण इत्यर्थः ।  
एतेन तृतीयमवधिं कृत्वा चतुर्थाद्या अन्ववसरं इति लक्षणवशादवक्षेपिणः । तृतीयस्तु  
धृतप्रचय इति गम्यते ।

प्रातिलोभ्येन निर्देशात् तृतीयस्त्ववधिः समः ।

उत्क्षेपोत्क्षिसतरकौ द्वितीयप्रथमौ मतौ ॥

स्यात्क्षिप्र उत्क्षिसतमस्तृतीया उत्तरास्त्रयः ।

चतुर्थाद्या अवक्षेप्यास्तारतम्यं तु पूर्ववत् ॥

तृतीयस्तु समः ।

उत्क्षेपावक्षेपयोरित्यर्थः ।

Further we have तृतीयारूपः प्रचयः (Vaidikābharaṇa—Mysore edition of Taitt. Prat. Page 516.)

The identification of प्रचयस्वर with the तृतीयस्वर of the Sāman music is further supported by the following verses from *Sarvasammata Śiksā* which describe the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers:—

गोकर्णाकृति हस्ते तु निर्दिशेददक्षिणे स्वरम् ।  
निवेश्य दृष्टि (?) हस्ताग्रे शास्त्रार्थमनुचिन्तयन् ॥

दक्षिणे गोकर्णाकृतिहस्ते हस्ताग्रे दृष्टि (?) निवेश्य प्रातिशास्त्र्यादि-  
शास्त्रार्थमनुचिन्तयन् अङ्गुष्ठेन स्वरं निर्दिशेत् ॥

पुरुषो हि व्रजेनार्णि न नारी पुरुषं व्रजेत् ।  
तथाङ्गुलीषु सर्वासु नयेदङ्गुष्ठमेव तु<sup>1</sup> ॥

सर्वास्वङ्गुलीष्वङ्गुष्ठमेव नयेत् ।  
पुरुषो हि इति दृष्टान्तः ।

शिरःकम्पं विहायैव स्वरन्यासो विधीयते ॥

स्पष्टं किं च ।

कनिष्ठानामिकामध्यातर्जन्यङ्गुलीनां मध्यर्पव्वेवानुदात्तस्वरितप्रचयो-  
दात्तान् क्रेमणाङ्गुष्ठाग्रेण विनिर्दिशेत् । पक्षान्तरमाह—

तर्जन्यादि कनिष्ठादि तथैवानामिकान्त्यकम् ।  
मध्यमाङ्गुलिमध्यं स्यात् स्वरस्थानं विधीयते ॥

तर्जन्या आदिमं पर्वोदात्तस्य स्थानं कनिष्ठाया आदिमं पर्वानुदात्तस्थानम्  
अनामिकाया अन्त्यं पर्वस्वरितस्थानं मध्यमाङ्गुल्या मध्यमं पर्वं च प्रचयस्थान-  
मिति विधीयते इत्यर्थः<sup>2</sup> ॥

1. This stanza occurs in Śabhbāpati's Dhāraṇalakṣaṇa. *Vide* Catalogue of a collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts, page 143. by Burnell, Part IV Vedic manuscript.

2. Sarvasammata Śiksā as quoted by Kielhorn. Remarks on the Śiksās. Indian Antiquary Volume V, page, 198. cf. also V 44 of Pāṇiniya Śiksā.

उदात्तं प्रदेशिनों विद्यात् प्रचयं मध्यतोऽङ्गुलिम् ॥

निहतं तु कनिष्ठिकां स्वरितोपकनिष्ठिकाम् ॥

(There is an extra syllable in the first Pāda.)

It is clear, therefore, that the word *dhṛta* in the sūtra  
भृतप्रचयः कौण्डन्यस्य

(Taitt. Prāt. xviii, 3.)

had a special signification and connoted the idea of keynote, for the production of प्रचयस्वर is sustained and steady, unlike the production of उदात्त (where the voice all at once rises to a high pitch), the production of स्वरित (where the voice rises in the first half of the syllable to a level still higher than that of उदात्त) and the production of अनुदात्त (where the voice sinks to a low level).

Thus we see at one time in the history of Vedic music, the fourth note, the प्रचयस्वर came to be distinguished from the other three *svaras*, *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* and as the concept of keynote gradually grew, it was significantly christened as भृतप्रचयः by the author of the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya.

[That the word *dhṛta* is a significant technical term for keynote is amply borne out by the fact that the *Tṛtīyasvara* of the Śāman music (*i.e.* our Rṣabha) which was identical with *pracaya* was also called *dhṛta* in later times.]<sup>1</sup>

1. Bharata says that if the Śadja grāma is increased by three śrutis in all, then the Rṣabha and Dhaivata in the Śadja-grāma coincide with the Śadja and Pañcama of the Madhyama-grāma Viñā.

अथ द्वौग्रामौ षड्जो मध्यमश्चेति । तत्राश्रिता द्वाविंशतिः श्रुतयः । यथा—  
तिक्ष्णो द्वे च चतस्रश्च चतस्रस्तिक्ष्ण एव च ।

द्वे चतस्रश्च षड्जाख्ये ग्रामे श्रुतिनिर्दर्शनम् ॥ ११

मध्यमग्रामे तु श्रुत्यपकृष्टः पञ्चमः कार्यः । पञ्चमस्य श्रुत्युक्तर्षापकर्षाभ्यांयदन्तरं ।  
मादवादायतत्वाद्वा तावत्प्रमाणश्रुतिः ।

(*Vide also* Contributions to the study of Ancient Indian music, by P. R. Bhandarkar, page 193, footnotes 46, 47, Indian Antiquary, Volume XLI.)

निर्दर्शनं च समभिव्याख्यास्यामः । यथा द्वे वीणे तुल्यप्रमाणतंत्र्युपपादनदण्ड-  
मूर्छ्णे षड्जग्रामाश्रिते कार्ये । तयोरन्यर्थे मध्यमग्रामकीं कुर्यात् ।

पञ्चमस्यापकर्षे श्रुतिं तामेव पञ्चमस्य श्रुत्युक्तर्षवशात् षड्जग्रामकीं कुर्यात् ।  
एवं श्रुतिरपकृष्टा भवति । पुनरपि तद्वदेवापकर्षात् गान्धारीनिषादावपि इतरस्यां  
भैवतर्षभौ प्रविशतः । श्रुत्यधिकत्वात् ।

In this connection, it is useful to remember that in ancient Indian music, the wire (of the *Vinā*) upon which the melody was played, was not tuned to *ma* as it is now but to *ri*<sup>1</sup>. In Grecian (Dorian) music also, the octave was perhaps taken from *ri* to *ri*<sup>2</sup>.

For Strangways seems to have recognised, though somewhat vaguely, that the प्रचयस्वर was the keynote in Sāman music. For he says that the प्रचयै was in principle the forerunner of the drone frequently relegated to the drum<sup>3</sup>.

The Paniniya Śikṣa contains the following stanza :—

उदाते निषादगान्धारावनुदातत्रष्मधैवतौ ।

पुनस्तद्वेवापकर्षात् धैवतर्षभावितरस्यां षष्ठजपञ्चमौ प्रविशतः  
श्रुत्याधिकत्वात् ।

भरतनाट्यशास्त्र, पृ० ३२७, २२ काशीसुद्रितम्

(28th chapter, ¶ 22, pages 318-319. Kāśi Sanskrit Series, No. 60)  
Looked at from this point of view also, there is no impropriety of R̥ṣabha of the Śadja Grāma *Vinā* being the keynote of Sāman music.

1. See the Rāgas of Hindustan. Volume I—The theory of Indian Music, Philharmonic Society of Western India, Poona, 1918, page 13.

Cf. also Clements, Introduction to the study of Indian Music, page 32.

2 Cf. Swarup, Theory of Indian Music, page 32.

"The following are the six authentic ecclesiastical modes, keys or scales of Glarean, a learned theoretician, with the incorrect Greek names he assigned to them.

[Dodeca chordon (Basle 1547)].

Ionic	C D E F G A B C
Doric	D E F G A B C D
Phrygian	E F G A B C D E
Lydian	F G A B C D E F
Mixolydian	G A B C D E F G
Eolic	A B C D E F G A

Vide Helmholtz. The Sensations of tone. English translation by A. J. Ellis London. Third edition, 1895, page 245.

3. Vide Music of Hindostan, page 247, f. n. 2.

स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥ (१२)<sup>1</sup>

The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā has the following instead<sup>2</sup>—

उच्चौ निषादगान्धारौ नीचावृषभधैवतौ ।

शेषास्तु स्वरितज्ञेया षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥

which in substance means the same thing.

"The ancient and authoritative writers on Indian Music have employed three terms *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* in their treatises and have assigned definite meanings to them, the *udātta* is to be chanted on *Niśāda* or *gāndhāra* notes, the *anudātta* on *rśabha* or *dhaivata*, and the *svarita* on *śadja*, *madhyama*, or *pañcama* notes. The stanzas from the śikṣās say the same thing in effect, in that they assign two notes to each of the three terms. Thus they have constituted two alternative sets of notes: *rśabha*, *gāndhāra*, and *madhyama* or *dhaivata*, *niśāda* and *śadja* for *anudātta*, *udātta* and *svarita* respectively"<sup>3</sup>

1. *Vide* Nārada Śikṣā i, viii. Verse 8. cf. also the following:—

उच्चे निषादगान्धारौ (तथा) नीचे प्रृष्ठमधैवतौ ते ।

(Nānyadeva's Bharatabhāṣya, Chapter II, page 18.)

स्वरितेन विधातव्याषड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥

cf. Muller Rk Prātiśākhya, p. cclxxii

2. Yājñavalkya Śikṣā. Verse 7, Śikṣā Samgraha, Benares Sanskrit Series.

The previous verse in Yājñavalkya Śikṣā is the following:—

गान्धर्ववेदे ये प्रोक्ताः सप्त षड्जादयः स्वराः ।

त एव वेदे विज्ञेयाः त्रय उच्चादयः स्वराः ॥

Śikṣā Samgraha, page 1, Benares Sanskrit Series. The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā thus directly tells us that the Vedic accent was musical. *Vide* James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. VII, Critical studies in the Phonetic observations of Indian Grammarians by Siddheshwar Varma, The Royal Asiatic Society, London. 1929.

3. *Vide*. A stanza from Pāṇini's Śikṣā by G. S. Khare in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 339 ff. See also Mr. M.S. Ramaswamy Iyer's Introduction to *Rāgavibodha* p. 32 ff.

*Ri* being *samvādi* of *dhaivata*<sup>1</sup>, and therefore if the former was the keynote, we must naturally expect that the latter also to be such.

1. As the interval between the two notes is 13 Śrutis, when *Ri* is taken as *Sadja*, then *dha* would be *Pañcama*. The name पञ्चम given to मन्द्र (our धैवत) can thus be shown to be significant: "Bharata says that two notes whose mutual distance consists of nine or thirteen Śrutis should be considered to be mutually concordant (*Samvādi*) or capable of enhancing each other's melody. Even later writers namely Dattila and Mataṅga recognise the same number of Śrutis as constituting the interval between two concordant notes".

यथोश्च नवकत्रयोदशशुत्यन्तरे तावन्योन्यं संवादिनौ, यथा षड्जमध्यमौ पञ्चपञ्चमौ ।

भरतनाथशास्त्र, पृ० ३१७, प. १०

(28th chapter p. 317. प. 20).

दत्तिलेनाप्युक्तम्—‘मिथः संवादिनौ ज्ञेयौ त्रयोदशनवान्तरौ’ ।

संगीतरस्तनाकरसिंहभूषणलटीका Calcutta पृ. ५२, प. ४. (page 53, प. 4.)

नवकत्रयोदशान्ताः सवादिनः बृहदेशी पृ. १६, पं ६ (pages 16, पं ७)

Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 94.

"It follows from Bharata's recognition of *Madhyama* and *Pañcama* to be the notes concordant with *sadja*, that there *should* be nine Śrutis between *sadja* and *Madhyama* and an interval containing thirteen Śrutis between *Sadja* and *Pañcama*".

Similarly the interval between *Rśabha* and *Dhaivata* must be 13 Śrutis. Mr. Telang has conclusively proved that Bharata recognised in the first instance 24 Śrutis in an octave assigning four to *Sadja*, four to *Rśabha*, two to *Gāndhāra*, four to *Madhyama*, four to *Pañcama*, four to *Dhaivata* and two to *Niṣāda* on the ground that the first Śruti of *Rśabha* below *sadja* as also the first Śruti of *Dhaivata* below *Pañcama* were discordant and therefore prejudicial to melody.

[एकश्रुत्यन्तरितौ विवादिनौ वैरिणौ मिथो भवतः ।

Somanāth's Rāgavibodha. प्रथमो विवेकः श्रुतिस्वरादि, श्लो० ३८, पृ. ४,

(Verse 38, page 4)

Mr. M. S. Ramaawamy Iyer's edition.]

Bharata must have refrained from assigning names to them. The twenty-two Śrutis alone attained celebrity and recognition.

Vide. The 22 Śrutis of Indian Music: A Complete exposition, being a lecture delivered before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 22nd April 1931 by Mr. M. R. Poonawali 1933. p. 33ff.

This is what we actually find also in Sāman chant, for the final tone 5 (मन्त्र = धैवत) as in S V 1, 1, 2 (Ed I, p. 95) b̄ṛhiṄśi-  
२ ३ ४ ५ represents the keynote of Sāman<sup>1</sup>.

It is interesting to note in this connection that according to Mr. Clement's opinion, the ancient *suddha-vikrta* system was based upon Bharatamata which had 'Dha' for keynote (*Vide* Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer's Introduction to Svaramela-kalānidhi p. xxx.)

Another interesting fact is that the choice of *Suddha-scale* by a classical author Ahobala begins from रि which is taken as षड्जः.

He arrived at the Rāga Kāphi which corresponds to Khara-harapriyā of the Carnatic music (*Vide ibid* page xxx.).

चतुश्चतुश्चतुश्चैव षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ।  
द्वे द्वे निषादगान्धारौ त्रिस्त्री रिषभधैवतौ ॥  
तथैव च व्यवस्थित्या शुद्धमेलः सुसाधितः ।  
हरप्रियः समाख्यातो हाहीबलादिपण्डितैः ॥<sup>2</sup>

1. *Vide*. Lakṣmaṇa Śrauti's edition of Sāma Veda Samhitā-Veyagāṇa p. 2. (४० १) J. M. Van der Hoogt. The Vedic chant studied in its textual and melodic form, page 42.

2. Mr. V. N. Bhatkande alias Pañdit Catura.—*Lakṣya Samgīta* page 11, Verses 101 and 105, Nirnayasagar edition. See also A short Historical survey of the music of upper India (A reproduction of the speech delivered by Mr. V.N. Bhatkande at the Baroda All India Music Conference in 1916). Bombay 1917 page 29. Mr. M. R. Telang is of the opinion that the natural scale as propounded by Bharata Nāṭya Sāstra and Śārigadeva's Samgītaratnākara, was also the scale of Kāfi Rāga being exactly that laid down in the Pārijāta. Mr. Ganpatrao Gopālrao Barve is reported to have made an attempt to reconcile the current Bilāvala scale with the 22nd Śrutis mentioned in the Sloka:

चतुश्चतुश्चतुश्चैव षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ।  
द्वे द्वे निषादगान्धारौ त्रिस्त्रीऋषभधैवतौ ॥

It is reported also that the error was emended later on, subsequent to Mr. Ganpatrao Gopālrao Barve's visit to Mr. Telang when the former learnt from the latter that the scale formed according to the Śrutis laid down in the Sloka was not the Bilāvala scale but the scale of the Kāfi Rāga (*See*, Nādalahari by Mr. Ganpatrao Gopālrao Barve, pp. 119-121).

"The *suddha* scale of Samgīta Pārijāta is the same as that of our modern Kāphi Rāga. This scale will correspond with the southern scale Karaharapriyā<sup>1</sup>.

Whitney ventured the conjecture whether the mode of writing the accent<sup>2</sup> might not have been without influence on the theory as to its character—that is to say, that the vedic phonetists may have come by an after thought to declare that the *pracaya* syllables of acute tone, and to pronounce them so because they agreed with the acute in being without a sign of accent, while originally no such correspondence in character was perceived or signified.

*Vide.* The 22 *Srutis* of Indian Music, A Complete Exposition, being a lecture delivered before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 22nd April 1931, by Mr. M. R. Telang, Poona 1933, pages 5–6 and also page 20.

1. Cf. स—रीगमौ प—धौनिश्च स्वरा इत्यपि संशिताः ।

चतुःश्रुतिसमायुक्ताः स —म—पामिधाः ॥

Samgīta Pārijāta by Ahobala edited by Kālivara Vedāntabāgīśa and Sarada Prasāda Ghosha (Calcutta 1879), Verse 66. It must be remembered that in the Rāga Kharaharapriyā of Carnatic music, ṛṣabha is the जीवस्त्र. Hence it is not unlikely the ṛṣabha was originally the आरम्भस्त्र. It may be useful to remember in this connection that "there would be no chronological obstacle to supposing that the mode of accentuation which first appears in Greek papyri of the first century B. C. as in the Bacchylides papyrus, kenjon, Bacchylides, Introduction, p. xx, Palaeography of Greek Papyri, p. 28 may have been derived, directly or mediate-ly, from the celebrated school of Pāṇini—the great Indian grammarian."

*Vide*, "On Ancient Greek Accentuation," by J. P. Postgate Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XI, page 49.

(To be continued)

## TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T.,  
*Chidambaram.*

Tirukkalukkunram has one of the most ancient and most sacred of Siva temples in the Tamil's land. It is situated about nine miles south east of Chingleput on the South Indian Railway and is easily accessible by bus. Its importance is greatly enhanced as it lies midway on the road to Māmallapuram, a great port and emporium of the Pallavas, enriched by immortal art, the oldest of rock-cut and structural temples and large-scale sculptures on single pieces of rock. The term "Tirukkalukkunram" means the "Hill worshipped by the Kites"; "Pakshitirtham is its Sanskrit equivalent; and various other names have been given to it.

### *Legends.*

Many legends are associated with Tirukkalukkunram. According to one of them, the Vedas are believed to remain in this place in the shape of the hills. This explains the origin of the names Vedagiri, Tirumalai, Srutimalai, Vedapporrai and Maraikkodu. For having slighted and disobeyed Siva's orders, Nandidevar is said to have done penance to the Lord of this place and gained salvation. Thus the place has derived the name Nandipuri. Tilottamā of the celestial region came in the shape of a cow to disturb Nandideva's penance. Nandī came to know of it and cursed her to remain a cow till the Kali age, promising her release at the hands of the Chola King, Suraguru. Sage Mārkaṇḍeya too is said to have performed penance in the forest of this region. Mayeekan who was a Rakshasa, assumed the form of a boar and caused trouble to the creatures of the forest. Mārkaṇḍeya pronounced a curse upon him making the Rākshasa retain his beastly form till his liberation at the hands of Suraguru.

Suraguru, a legendary Chola king, ruled the land with Kadalmallai (Māmallapurām) as his capital. Once, while he was on a hunt, he aimed an arrow at the boar but it missed the mark and hit Tilottamā, the celestial being in the shape of the cow. The King was pious and good-natured, so the Lord

caused the sin of killing the cow to be expelled in the shape of a crow, and the place where the crow fell became a rock, on the southern side of the Lord's Hill. Now the rock is known by the name of the 'Crow's Hill'.

Vishnu, it is related, committed sin by murdering the wife of Bhrghu who had given shelter to some Asuras. In expiation of the sin, Vishnu is said to have worshipped Siva in Tirukkalukkunram. So this place is called Narayana-pura.

A story is told of a devadāsi, Nāccimuttu by name, who was truly devoted to the God of Vedagiri, and she used to sing everyday after worship a song composed by a Vaishnavite on this deity. One day thunder and storm prevented her going to the temple. Then she implored the God of the Sacred Hill to manifest Himself before her in her courtyard and accept her devotion. And lo! the Lord responded and presented Himself in front of her. When the Lord was about to depart, she clasped the hoofs of Siva's vehicle, the bull, and the Vaishnavite poet too clung to her feet; and both were carried to Kailas.

Brahmā seems to have been partial in his love to Saraswati at the expense of Sāvitri. The latter, therefore, cursed her Lord and Brahmā sought the advice of Vishnu. According to his directions Brahmā did penance in this place. He was finally absolved of his sin. In consequence, Tirukkalukkunram came to be known as Brahmapuri.

Let us narrate the story of the Kites—*Sambu* and *Adi*. They were two brothers who quarrelled whether the God (Siva) or the Goddess (Sakti) was superior. The Lord Himself declared that both were equal, but even after His admonition they would not stop quarrelling and when they persisted they were cursed to become kites. In the Kali age they are known by the names of Sambu and Adi. They visit the hill everyday to pray for their salvation, and the *Pakṣipandāram* (the birdpriest) of the Vedagiri hill feeds the two birds at noon everyday. It is this feature that draws most the attention of pilgrims as well as sightseers, chiefly foreigners.

Among the various other personages who seem to have attained salvation here are Agastiya, Ahalyā, Indra, Rudrakoti (Siva's servants), Ganga, the twelve Adityas (Suns), Mārkaṇḍeya, the eight Vasus, Varuṇa, Viśvāmitra.

*Topography and Shrines:*

The hill is regarded as the very embodiment of the Vedas; and it is called Vedagiri. Owing to the sacred character of the hill in every part (as at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of the *Tejo-liṅga*) it must have been devoid at one time of any shrine. The devotees would not have been willing to tread on it. So, they say, did the three saints—Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar—worship the Lord from below.

Apart from the place where the Kites are fed by the *Paṇḍāram*, there are two shrines on the hill. One is a rock-cut Pallava cave temple most probably excavated by the Pallava King Mahendravarman (7th century A.D.) but generally attributed to his son, Narasiṁhavarman I. The incomplete inscription in archaic Tamil script of Narasiṁhavarman gives the name of “mūlasthāna on the hill” to this shrine; and it is the oldest inscription in this place. On the pillars of this cave-temple are found a large number of signatures of Dutch visitors. The other shrine on the top of the hill seems to have had its origin in the 8th century A.D. most probably in the days of Rājasimha (Narasiṁhavarman II)—or one of his immediate successors.

There is a shrine at the foot of the hill of Vedagiri called now the *Bhaktavatsala* temple whose walls contain almost all the inscriptions which range from the end of the 9th century A.D. (898 A.D.) to almost the eve of British settlement in India. In this temple there is in the 2nd prākāra a strong-room (*tiru ābharaṇa koṭṭadī*) with a semi-circular back wall. It has all the features of a temple of the 9th century A.D. The Vimāna is of the shape of the back of an elephant (*Gaja prṣṭha vimāna*) and there are images of Ganeśa, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Durgā with features of 9th century sculptures. A number of inscriptions on the walls of the ‘strong-room’ mention the central shrine of *Tirukkalukkunṭram* (*Tirukkalukkunṭattu Śrī Mūlasthānapperumāṇḍigal*). I am disposed to think after a close inspection during my recent visit, that this is the oldest Mūlasthāna shrine of this place. In later times, it was abandoned and a new liṅga was consecrated and that became the modern Bhaktavatsala.

*The Oldest Shrine.*

“Which is the original Mūlasthāna shrine?” is a question of some importance. The officers of the Epigraphical Depart-

ment consider either the shrine at the top of the Vedagiri hill or the rock-cut Pallava cave in it to be the original Mūlasthāna. I do not favour such a view, and my conclusions alone can be set forth here. The oldest inscription in the Bhaktavatsala temple is a very important one of the 27th year of a certain Rājakesarivarman who can be identified without any uncertainty with the Chola King, Āditya I (of accession 871 A.D.), and this is found on the west wall of the strong-room of this shrine. It is said that at the request of a certain Puttañ, this king promised to confirm and maintain the original grant of lands free of tax (irai-y-ili) made by the previous kings of the land (pūrva rājākka!) to the Mūlasthāna temple at Tirukkalukkunram. Of these kings only two are mentioned. One is the donor Skandaśīya whom we cannot properly identify as there are a number of kings of that name, but he should be assigned roughly to the 5th century A.D. The other is Narasiṁhavarman I, the conqueror of Vātāpi (middle of the 7th century A.D.) whose inscription also is found in the Pallava Orukal (rock cut temple) maṇḍapa on the Vedagiri hill. Narasiṁhavarman is said to have protected the original endowment of Skandaśīya. The reconfirmation of the same grant by Āditya Chola happened soon after his conquest of the Pallava country (Tonḍaimaṇḍalam). There are also a number of other inscriptions on the walls of this 'strong-room' which mention the Mūlasthāna temple of this place till 1085 A.D. So this strong-room within the premises of the Bhaktavatsala temple should have been the original Mūlasthāna. If so, the God consecrated in that 'strong-room' should have been the oldest shrine of the Tamil land referred to in inscriptions. The present structure of the shrine (the strong room) has to be assigned to the 9th century A.D. Perhaps it was a renovation of the original shrine of the days of Skandaśīya.

There are about a dozen sacred tanks in the place. The tarn on the hill is called the *Sampāti Sunai*’ the *Śaṅkhā tīrtham* at the foot of the Vedagiri hill from which a conch emerges once in about 12 years, and the ‘Nandi-tīrtham’ in the enclosure of the Bhaktavatsala shrine are the most important. The Pālāru is the holy river of this deity.

#### *The Tamil Saints:*

To Māṇikka Vācakar the Lord manifested Himself in this place. Appar has celebrated Tirukkalukkunram with his

hymns. Sambandar (7th century A.D.) has sung devotional songs on the Lord whom he calls 'Kallam Vallān' (an adept in the art of cunning). 'Ponnittār' the Giver of gold is one of the appellations of this God; it is to be believed that he used to reward his devotees with gold. Sundarar came to this place expecting to get gold from the Lord; at first the Lord hid Himself and remained in the western gopura; but Sundarar entered the temple by the southern gate; and, by sheer perseverance in his devotion, received both gold and grace from Siva. The fourth day festival of this place still celebrates this incident in the life of this saint. Hence the name of the 'Lord who hid himself to Nambi' (i.e., Sundarar)

At the end of the 9th century A.D., the region of Tirukkalukkunram passed from the rule of the Pallavas to that of the Cholas who exercised their sway till the end of the 13th century A.D. It is the *Mūlasthāna* that receives the homage of princes and people till about the end of the 11th century A.D. And an endowment is occasionally made to the Lord on the sacred hill. But after the 11th century the name 'Mūlasthāna' drops and the god is named the Lord of Tirukkalukkunram. When the god of the Mūlasthāna was abandoned and why, we do not know. But we learn that a general of the Pāṇḍya King Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of Madura (accession 1251 A.D.) made a new shrine and consecrated a liṅga. Perhaps it is the modern Bhaktavatsala, and most of the inscriptions of this Pāṇḍya ruler call the Lord the giver of gold "Ponnittiśvaram-udaiyār". After the rule of the Pāṇḍyas this region passed into the hands of the Vijayanagar rulers whose inscriptions in this place range from the 14th to the 16th century A.D.

#### *Local Inscriptions:*

According to inscriptions, Tirukkalukkunram, otherwise called Ulakalanda-Chola Pu.ām, is said to be in Kalattūr Koṭṭam a sub-division of Jayānkonda-Chola-māndalam.

In an inscription of the 12th year of Kulottunga (I? accession on 1070 A.D.) we are told that two persons went out together for a hunt; and by accident, one of them killed the other by an arrow evidently aimed at an animal. So the assembly of the place resolved that the guilty person should make an endowment for a lamp to be burnt in the local temple. In an inscription whose script can be assigned to the 12th

century A.D., a certain Suryadevan is said to have set up an image of Pillaiyār in the temple (on the top of the hill) of Vedagiriśvara and to have constructed the flight of steps on the hill. In the reign of Kulottunga II (6th year 1139 A.D.) it is recorded that a military officer of a feudatory called Edivili Chola Sambavaroya was killed by another, and thereupon the wife of the deceased committed *Sati*. At the instance of the elders of the assembly of the Nādu the criminal was made to endow two lamps for the merit of the two deceased.

During the long period of recorded history of about eleven centuries or more; only two cases of serious theft are mentioned. In 1213 A.D. (35th year of Tribhuvana Viradeva i.e., Kulottunga III) a certain man was caught red-handed while removing the forehead plate (*tiruppaṭṭam*) of the deity. He was declared a *drohin* (enemy to the community) ejected from his house. It was confiscated and sold. The proceeds were used for paying the charges of the masons and other workmen who were employed in the construction of the steps to the hundred-pillared maṇḍapa in the third enclosure of the temple.

Another similar case of theft happened in the days of Vīra Kumāra Kampana Uḍaiyār (latter part of the 14th century A.D.) of Vijayanagar. It is recorded that a certain man was caught in the act of sealing the gates of the strong-room after removing the gold leaf of the *tiruvāśi* (worth about 150 pon) of the idol in the room. Thereupon the assembly of the *Nādu* met and confiscated his '*Kāni*' rights, declaring him a *Sivadrohin* (enemy to Siva); and the proceeds of these rights sold in auction to various individuals amounting to 850 *panams* were deposited in the temple treasury.

These instances indicate the general absence of serious crimes, and the large judicial powers, even in cases of crimes enjoyed by local bodies in those times.

#### *A Great Tamil Merchant Guild*

'The *Nānādeśis*' were a great and flourishing Tamil merchant guild that were carrying on extensive oversea trade from at least the earliest Chola times. One of their records is found in Sumatra. In this place there is a reference to the shrine of the Deśiviṭaṅka Perumāl' (evidently set up by them and called after them) by the *Nānādeśis* of *Sadiravasagan paṭṭinam*. This is perhaps a variant of *Sadras*—a place well

known in later times as a settlement of the Dutch—situated about ten miles from Tirukkalukkunram.

### *Standard Weights and Measures*

The existence of a standard liquid measure called *Selvi Rajakesari* kept in the temple, and of a standard linear measurement representing a rod of 16 spans (*patināruśāñ kol*) marked on the (upana part) of the basement of the temple, is recorded in one of the local inscriptions. It is further mentioned that the square measure of that standard rod was 'six-mākhani'. The temples of south India filled the role which the British Museum of London did and, now, the Board of Trade does, for the standardization of weights and measures in England.

### *The European Visitors*

From the 17th century to the early 19th century, Europeans chiefly the Dutch were much attracted to Tirukkalukkunram, and there are more than twenty-five names of Dutchmen who visited the place and left their signatures on the hill. Some of them were persons who held distinguished offices in the Dutch service. Chief among them are:—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Antony Pavilioen (1670). He was the chief at Masulipatam in 1658 A.D. and at Jaffna from 1661 to 1665 A.D. Then he became Governor of the Coromandel Coast with head-quarters at Pulicat which position he occupied for 13 years (1655-78). Perhaps he visited Sadras in 1670 and on his way Tirukkalukkunram.

2. Lawrence Pit Junior (1663) was another Dutch Governor of the Coast (1677-1698). Perhaps he visited the place in the time of Pit Senior who was also Governor (1852-63).

3. William Carel Hartsink (1681), He was the chief Merchant and President at Pulicat from 1679 to 1681 A.D.

A Dutch writer called Havart relates how he and ten others visited the hill on 3rd January, 1681 A.D. and saw the two sacred birds being fed at about midday.

An Englishman who has recorded his visit to this place in the 18th century is George Dawson (1769) who was a Madras Civilian. He came out as a writer in 1751, became a member of the Madras Council (1768); and in 1769 he was appointed Chief of Cuddalore. Perhaps he visited the hill on his way to Cuddalore.

There is a record in the 19th century of Jan Andreis Van Braan (1818) who was the Dutch Commissioner appointed in 1817 in pursuance of the London Convention of the 13th August, 1814 to take delivery of some of the old Dutch factories in India. He visited Sadras in 1818 and assumed charge of the factory from the British Commissioner (31st March, 1818); and his visit recorded at Tirukkalukkunram must be on his way to Sadras.

Such in brief is the romantic vista revealed from local legendary lore and the mute fragments of old records on stone spread over many centuries. The attractiveness of Tirukkalukkunram will last as long as the hill and the lake endure, and man is not dead to the charm of natural scenery, salubrious climate and spiritual appeal.



## THE WORKS OF ABHINAVAGUPTA

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

The following works of Abhinavagupta have till now been noted:<sup>1</sup>

1. Anuttaratrīṁśikā laghvṛtti or Anuttara tattva vimarśinī laghvṛtti, a brief prose commentary following Utpala's 'mata', on the Anuttaratrīṁśikā (also trīṁśikā) or Parātrīṁśikā which is an extract from the Rudrayāmala.

Mss. MD. 15336.<sup>2</sup>

TD. 8219-20.

GD. 1107-8.

2. Anuttara trīṁśikā vivṛti or Parātrīṁśikā vṛtti following the commentary of Somānanda; another prose gloss on the same text as in no. 1.

Edn. Kasmir Texts. XVIII. 1918.

3. Anuttarāṣṭikā (8 verses).

Edn. Appendix C. pp. 404-5, Dr. Pandey's Abhinavagupta.

4. Anubhavanivedana (ascribed to Abhinava). 4 verses.

Edn. *Ibid.* p. 414.

5. Iśvarapratyabhijñā vimarśinī (-laghu vimarśinī), a gloss on Utpala's I. Pra.

Edn. Kasmir Texts. 22 and 33.

6. Iśvarapratyabhijñā vivṛti vimarśinī (-bṛhatī vimarśinī) a commentary on Utpala's own vivṛti on his I. Pra.

7. Kathāmukhatilaka, referred to by Abhinavagupta in his I. Pra. bṛhatī vimarśinī according to Dr. Pandey.

On this, see below for more definite information.

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1. Aufrect CC. I. p. 25a; II. p. 5a and III. p. 6a. Dr. K. C. Pandey, Abhinavagupta, Chowk. Publication, pp. 22-68.

2. MD. =Madras Govt. Ori. MSS. Library Descriptive Catalogues.

TD. =Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library Descriptive Catalogues.

GD. =Granthappura (Palace Library) Descriptive Catalogues, Trivandrum.

8. Kāvyakautukavivaraṇa, a gloss on his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tota's Kāvyakautuka. Referred to by Abhinavagupta in his Dhvanyālokalocana. (p. 178, N.S. edn. Dhva. Ā. 1928. See also J.O.R.M., VI. pp. 153-162, my article on Writers Quoted in the Abhinava Bhāratī; see also pp. 43-44, my Number of Rasas, Adyar Library Series).

9. Kramakeli, a commentary on the Kramastotra, different from Abhinavagupta's own Kramastotra. See p. 236, Abhinavagupta's own Parātrimśikāvivaraṇa, Kas. Texts XVIII; Jayaratha's Com. on Tantrāloka, VIII, Texts 30. p. 191; Kṣemarāja's Com. on Utpala's Śivastotrāvalī, Chowk. 15, p. 78.

10. Kramastotra, 30 verses, composed in A.D. 990-1  
Edn. Pandey, App. C. pp 409-412

11. Ghaṭakarparakulakavṛtti

12. Tattvādhva prakāśana. Pandey, p. 34

13. Tantravaṭadhānikā

Edn. Kas. Texts. 24.

14. Tantrasāra  
Edn. Kas. texts 17

15. Tantrāloka

Edn. Kas. texts.

16. Tantroccaya. Pandey, p. 64.

17. Devīstotravivaraṇa, cited by Abhinavagupta in his Gītartha saṅgraha, N. S. edn. p. 477.

18. Dehasthadevatācakra stotra (15 verses)

Edn. Pandey, App. C. pp. 413-4

19. Dhvanyālokalocana. N. S. edn.

20. Nātyaśāstra vivṛti (Abhinava Bhāratī)

Edn. G.O.S.

21. Padārthapraveśa nirnaya ṭīkā referred to by him in his Parātrimśikā vivaraṇa, Kas. Texts 18, p. 162.

22. Paramārthacarcā (8 verses)

Edn. Pandey, App. C. p. 407.

23. Paramārthadvādaśikā or Advayadvādaśikā, 12 verses  
Edn. Pandey App C. pp. 405-6

24. Paramārtharāsa or P. S. Samgraha.

Edn. Kas. Texts. 7

On this work, see S. S. S. Sastri, *New Indian Antiquary*, I, p. 37 ff.

25. Pūrva pañcikā, com. on the Pūrvāśāstra or Mālinī vijaya. Pandey, p. 31.

26. Prakaraṇa vivaraṇa, com. on Prakaraṇastotra. Pandey. p. 32
27. Prakīrṇakavivaraṇa, ref. to by Jayaratha in his com. on Tantraloka, vii, p. 33.
28. Prabodha (or Bodha) pañcadaśikā. Edn. Kas. Texts 14
29. Bhagavad gītārtha samgraha. N. S. edn.
30. Bheda vāda vidāraṇa, cited in his Gītārthasamgraha and I. Pra. vimarśini.
31. Bhairava stotra or Iṣvara stotra, 10 verses composed in A.D. 992-3 Edn. Pandey, pp. 412-3
32. Mahopadeśa vimśatikā, 20 verses. Edn. Pandey, pp. 407-8. On this work, see my note in the *New Indian Antiquary* III, pp. 32-34.
33. Mālinīvijayavārttika Edn. Kas. Texts 32.
34. Laghvī prakriyā, a stotra quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Gītārthasamgraha under IV. 28 and XII. 11.
35. Śivadṛṣṭyālocana, a com. on Somānanda's Śivadṛṣṭi. Quoted by him in his Parā trimśikā vivaraṇa, Kes. Texts 18, p. 116.
36. Śivaśaktyavinābhāva stotra, quoted in his Gītārtha-samgraha, pp. 628-9

Besides these, it has been noted also that, as on the Pūrva, Abhinavagupta has commented on the other Āgama-śāstras (Parātrimśikā vivaraṇa, Kas. Texts 18, p. 147) and some more Stotras. His quotations also show that he himself had composed some more Stotras, as also some poems.

Further, Mr. R. A. Sastri notes in his Diary that in the library of Pandit Ramjiva kokil, Banmahal, Srinagar, there is an Amareśvara stotra by Abhinavagupta.

We also come across in the MSS. Catalogues some vague and some incorrect entries against Abhinavagupta's name.

(a) Oudh. xvi 124 - Spanda. We do not understand what this means.

(b) AK. 243, Auf. III p. 6a-Devīmāhātmyātikā gupta-vati. Abhinavagupta here is a mistake for Bhāskararāya.

(c) The New Catalogus Catalogom Office of the Madras University purchased from the library of the late Dr. Jacobi a long paper scroll containing a list of book-names given by Pandit

Damodar Sastri, son of Pandit Saheb Ram who are mentioned by Buhler in his Report (p. 26. ff.). In this scroll is found an entry "Dhvani samketa" against the name Abhinavagupta.

(d) In the Viśvabhārati, Santiniketan, is found an entry Devībhujāṅga by Abhinavagupta. I could not examine or verify this entry, since the Librarian is not in a position to supply extracts from this work.

(e) Buhler Kashmir Report 469, Bhandarkar's Report 1875-6 and BORI 469 of 1875-6—Bimbapratibimbavāda is only a part of the Tantrāloka, III.

Further, on p. 107 of his Tantrasāra, (Kas. Texts, XVIII), Abhinavagupta makes a mention of his Tantrāloka and adds to it a perplexing reference to a *Śloka vārtika*. Are we to understand a work of Abhinavagupta here, and if so, whether one of his known works or a new one?

Again, a Nāṭyālocana or Nāṭyālocana has been ascribed to Abhinavagupta. (See Skt. Intro. to N. S. edn. (1928) of the Dhvanyāloka with Locana, p. 2.). No definite evidence has come up yet to confirm this ascription. But I may point out in this connection that in the Candrikā on the Prabodhacandrodaya by Nāḍīṇḍla Gopa (N.S. edn.), there are quotations in Anuṣṭubh verses on topics of Nāṭyaśāstra, ascribed to Abhinavagupta, from which we may suppose that after extensively expounding Bharata, Abhinavagupta thought of a handy resume of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The following are the quotations made by Nāḍīṇḍla Gopa:

p. 7. यथोक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः-

यदुपक्षेपकं वस्तु नाव्यादौ रङ्ग उच्यते ।  
स एव पूरवङ्गस्याद् उपोद्धातं प्रचक्षते ॥

p. 8. यथोक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः-

नान्दी पदैर्द्वादशभिरष्टाभिर्विष्यलंकृता ।  
षड्भिः षोडशभिर्वापि चतुर्भिस्त्रिभिरेव वा ॥  
अष्टादशपदा नान्दी द्वाविंशतिपदापि वा ।  
शंखचक्राब्जचन्द्रेन्द्रचक्रोरैरवतंसिनी ॥  
त्रयश्रा वा चतुरश्रा वा तालमार्गनुसारिणी । इति ।

p. 9. अभिनवगुप्तपादैरपि अङ्गमुक्तम्—

प्रयुज्य विधिनैवं हि पूर्वरङ्गं प्रयोगतः ।

स्थापकः प्रविशेत्तत्र सूत्रधारस्य वेषभाक् ॥

p. 16. यथोक्तमभिनवगुप्तेन-

नृत्यतालातुकारि स्याद् गानमुद्गानमुच्यते ।

p. 128. '—वर्णस्य कथाया वर्णसंद्वितिः ।'

इत्यभिनवगुप्तपादैरुक्तम् ।

p. 243. यथोक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः-

अर्थप्रकृत्यवस्थात्मसन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गवृत्तिमत् ।

अर्थोपक्षेषपैर्युक्तं पताकास्थानकादिभिः ॥

अलङ्कौरैस्समायुक्तं सञ्चिभिश्चोपसन्धिभिः ।

रसौचित्यविकासैश्च वृत्तानौचित्यवर्जितम् ॥

धीरोदात्ताद्यवस्थानुकृतिर्नाटकमुच्यते । इति ।

An anonymous commentary on a drama called Vasumāngalanātaka by Perusūri (Mad. Govt. Ori. MSS. Lib. D. No. 11618) quotes two verses of Abhinavagupta on Nāṭya topics, on the first page of the ms.

तदुक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः-

'प्रथमं पूर्वरङ्गस्यात् ततः प्रस्तावनेति च ।

आरम्भे सर्वनाट्यानामेतत्सामान्यमिष्यते ॥'

अभिनवगुप्तपादाः प्रकारान्तरेण प्रतिपादयांचक्रिरे-

'यन्नाट्ययवस्तुनः पूर्वं रङ्गविघ्नोपशान्तये ।

कुशीलवाः प्रकुर्बन्ति पूर्वरङ्गस्स कीर्तिः ॥

The second quotation, referring to the same topic of Pūrvvaraṅga described in citation one in N. Gopa's commentary on the Prabodhacandrodaya may be the statement in the same context of another view.

Mallinātha, in his commentary on the Kumārasambhava I. 8, quotes a quarter of an Anuṣṭubh on Tāna in music and ascribes it to Abhinavagupta.

'तानस्त्वंशस्वरो मतः' इत्यभिनवगुप्तः ।

The India Office Catalogue, II, p. 123b, says that an Abhinavagupta is quoted by Haradatta in his Bodhāyana śrautasūtra-vyākhyā. Without knowing the citation and its context, nothing can be said about this reference.

## TWO NEW WORKS OF ABHINAVAGUPTA

There is a paper ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, in Telugu script, bearing the shelf no. I. 9. 3. Though there is no indication in this ms. itself, which is a transcript, about its original, I have been able to find out that its original is a ms. in the Samskrit College at Tripunitura. This ms. contains a set of works mostly pertaining to Pratyabhijñā, and its contents are described in MD under nos. 15323 to 15342. There is valuable information here on Abhinavagupta and his works.

### *The Gurunāthaparāmarśa (MD. 15323)*

The first work in this ms. is Gurunāthaparāmarśa, an eulogy on Abhinavagupta. The latter part of this work indulges in mere poetic eulogy, but in its former part, there are some verses containing valuable information.

Śl. 7 here refers to the tradition that the teachers and Yoginis once met and made Abhinavagupta the sole Ācārya and repository of the entire teaching.

यो मेलने कचन देशिकयोगिनीनाम्  
 अथ प्रभूत्स्थित एष गुरुकमौघः ।  
 त्वयेव संक्रमित इत्युपलालितोऽभूत्  
 तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥

In Śl. 10, significant reference is made to the exposition of the nine Rasas in Abhinavagupta's Abhinava Bhāratī on the Nātya Veda of Bharata in thirty-six Āhnikas.

### *The Kathāmukhatilaka*

On p. 33 of his book on Abhinavagupta, Dr. K. C. Pandey says that a work of Abhinavagupta, Kathāmukhatilaka by name, is referred to by Abhinavagupta in his I. Pra. Br̄hatī vimarśīnī and that "nothing at present can be said about its contents". From this ms. work Gurunāthaparāmarśa, we are able to know that the Kathāmukhatilaka of Abhinavagupta related to *vāda* especially and gave an exposition of the sixteen Padārīhas of the Nyāya sāstra. Śl. 9 of the Gurunāthaparāmarśa runs

ग्रन्थः कथामुखमहातिलकाभिधानो  
 न्यायोक्तषेऽशपदार्थनिरूपणाभिः ।  
 यो वादिना व्यरचयद् विजयाय वादे  
 तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥

(1) *The Paryantapañcāśikā*  
*A new work of Abhinavagupta*

It is however Šl. 8 of this eulogy on Abhinavagupta that is most important, for it gives us the name of a new work of Abhinavagupta, the *Paryanta Pañcāśikā*

पर्यन्तसंपदुपपादनकल्पवल्ली-  
पञ्चाशिका परमकारणिकेन येन ।  
प्रोक्ता निजाद्वयनये जनतां नियोक्तुं  
तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुतमाय ॥

Out of the expression 'पर्यन्तसंपदुपपादनकल्पवल्लीपञ्चाशिका,' I take 'Paryanta Pañcāśikā' as the title of the work, because Maheśvarānanda quotes in his *Mahārthamañjarī* a work of the name 'Paryānta Pancāśikā' and I think it likely that Maheśvarānanda is quoting this work of Abhinavagupta mentioned in the *Gurunāthparāmarśa*. The *Mahārthamañjarī* (TSS. 66.) has four quotations from the *Paryanta Pañcāśikā*, which appears to be a work in Anuṣṭubh verses:

1. pp. 44-5: शुद्धिर्वहिष्कृतार्थानां स्वाहन्तायां निमज्जनम् ।
2. p. 49: अनन्तैतावदाकारस्वीकारेऽप्येकलक्षणाम् ।  
तां स्वसंविदमाविश्य विकल्पात् विकल्पयेत् ॥
3. p. 70: चित्स्वाभाव्यादसौ देवः स्वामना विमुशन् प्रभुः ।  
अनाश्रितादिभूम्यन्ता भूमिकाः प्रतिपथते ॥
4. pp. 72-3: तत्र वाचकवाच्यात्मस्पन्दयोरेकशः प्रभोः ।  
स्थूलसूहमपराभासक्रमयोः षड्विधाघ्वता ॥

(2) *The Rahasyapañcadaśikā*  
*Another new work of Abhinavagupta.*

The fourth work in this ms. is the *Rahasyapañcadaśikā* of Abhinavagupta, this again a work of Abhinavagupta not known till now. The last verse says that the work is Abhinava-gupta's and contains fifteen verses.

इमेऽभिनवगुप्तेन श्लोकाः पञ्चदशोदिताः ।

See MD. 15326.

But as a matter of fact, the work contains 37 verses and is mostly a hymn to Devī in a variety of metres. I do not know if another minor work (the *Devibhujāṅga* in the *Viśvabhāratī*?) has got mixed up here.

*The Other Works and Authors known from this Ms.*

The interest of this ms. does not stop with the new facts about Abhinavagupta's works noticed above. It reveals to us some more authors and their works pertaining to Pratyabhijñā.

*The Sāstra parāmarśa*

This is the second work in the ms. and mentions some of the chief works of Pratyabhijñā: Sivadr̥ṣṭi, the commentaries on it by Utpala and Abhinavagupta, Pratyabhijñā sūtra, Vṛtti and Vivṛti, both on the I. Pra. Sūtra, and the two Vimarśinīs thereon by Abhinavagupta,—all these seeming to form a unit of five works described as 'Prakaraṇa vivaraṇa pañcaka'<sup>1</sup>. Then follow two verses praising Abhinavagupta's I. Pra. Laghu Vimarśinī, the next two, 7th and 8th, praise Utpala's Śivastotrāvalī and the last two verses are on Pratyabhijñā in general.

The last verse sums up the difference and distinction of the Pratyabhijñādvaita philosophy, as compared with Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta. Buddhism abolishes Ātman and Iśvara in its Vijñānādvaita, and Advaitavedānta, in its Brahmadvaita, has to resort to Anirvacaniyakhyāti and Avidyopādhi; but Pratyabhijñā (which is the heart of all Āgamas as contrasted with the Advaita Vedānta which is established on the basis of the *Vedas*) is suggested as overcoming the shortcomings of both Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta by its Iśvarādvaita. See MD. 15324.

*Svātmaprāśāṁsā*

The next work in the ms. is called Svātmaprāśāṁsā, a poem in 42 verses, by a Saiva Siddha on himself and on his own supreme Siddha state. MD. 15325. The subject-author describes himself in the first as well as third person. The second verse appears to state that the subject-author was born under the constellation having Indra-Agni as deity, i.e., Viśākhā, on a Śuklatrāyodaśi, Monday. It is likely that the Śivayogin mentioned in this and the next verse is his father. In verse 3, he calls himself 'Viśākhaḥ', after the star. In the subsequent verses he sings of himself as a Siddha, Avadhūta, Yogirāja, Vīra, Bhikṣu and Jivanmukta. In sl. 5, he mentions that even at his 74th year, he retained all the lore that he learnt from his father during boyhood; in this verse, the

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1. As Dr. Pandey points out, this verse mentioning these five as the chief Pratyabhijñā texts is quoted in the Sarvadarśana samgraha (Anandāśrama edn. p. 100.)

name of Abhinavagupta is worked in through Śleṣā. In śl. 6 he refers to his retaining the power of sweet exposition even at his 78th year; the next verse mentions his 80th year and in this verse occurs the name Siddha Viśākha, rather in a manner difficult of understanding. Viśākha does not occur beyond this.

The name with which the author frequently describes himself is Madhurāja or Mādhura. Śl. 6. which specifies his 78th year first introduces this name, माधुरोऽहम्. In the subsequent verses, the name Madhurāja or Mādhura occurs regularly. Śl. 13 is noteworthy as praising the works of Madhurāja kavi. Śl. 29. describing himself in the first person, refers to the hereditary scholarship of his family in Yajurveda, its Lakṣaṇa and Sūtra, Pañcamakha, Mantra and Tantra and Paramādvaita.

It is not easy to determine whether Mādhura is only a variant for Madhurāja; for one of the verses here, śl. 38, describes him as roaming in his Siddhahood in the town of the Pāṇḍya king, i.e., Madhura or Madura in the South.

न यामि कस्यापि गृहं प्रतीच्छ्न  
न यामि सौख्येन तथापि कालम् ।  
पुरीह पाण्डेश्वरपालितायां  
निरीहचूडामणिरस्मि तस्मात् ॥

It may be that he is called Mādhura after his place Madhurā.

The complication of the name of the subject-author is not over here; for śl. 12 says:

वित्तुष्ण इव (ह) भूतले चरति भट्टकृष्णः कृती ।

Who is this Bhaṭṭa Kṛṣṇa? If we take the whole poem as being on one person, as it appears we should, his personal name may be Bhaṭṭakṛṣṇa, star-name Viśākha, place-name Mādhura and another name Madhurāja. I do not know if this explanation is alright. On pp. 160-161 of his thesis on Abhinavagupta, Dr. K.C. Pandey speaks of a late writer on Pratyabhijñā whom he describes as "Varadarāja alias Kṛṣṇadāsa", "youngest son of Madhurāja" and author of a Śivasūtra-vārttika. The extract given by Dr. Pandey to bear out this information about the author, his name and parentage, is however not clear in construction or import.

It is not unlikely that the subject-author of this *Svātma-praśamsā* is also the author of the eulogy on Abhinavagupta, the *Gurunāthaparāmarṣa*, previously noticed.

The same codex contains some well-known works also: no. 5. *Anuttaratrīṁśikā* Text; no. 10. *Śiva* sūtras; no. 15. Abhinavagupta's *Laghuvṛtti* on the *Anuttaratrīṁśikā* of which other ms. have been noted above; no. 16. *Anuttaratrīṁśikā*-Text again; no. 17. *Prabodhapañcadaśikā* with *Avadhūta*'s com.; nos. 18 and 19. *Avadhūta*'s *Prātipadikārtha* vimarṣa and com. on it; and no. 20. *Somānanda*'s *Śivadrṣṭi*.

The other works here seem to be rare: No. 7 is *Svarūpa-praveśikā* of *Bhaṭṭa Nāga* or *Nāgānanda*; this work has a gloss by *Sivānanda* and both text and gloss are represented by another ms. in the same library. See MT. 2159.<sup>1</sup> *Nāgānanda* appears also as a commentator on the *I. Pra. Sūtra*; a ms. of his com. on the *I. Pra. Sū.* is available in the Adyar Library, (Cat. II. p. 174a; 28, B. 24).

The 8th work in the ms. is an anonymous *Ṣaṭtrimśat tattvacarcā*.

No. 9 is *Anuttaraśrīgurupañktiparāmarṣa*, a list of *Pratyabhijñā* teachers, taken from *Somānanda*'s *Śivadrṣṭi* and supplemented. After *Somānanda*, the list has *Utpala*, *Lakṣmaṇa-gupta*, *Abhinavagupta*, *Kṣemarāja* and *Sūra*. *Sūra* is mentioned as a pupil of *Kṣemarāja*. The author of this list is one *Deva Bhaṭṭa* who describes himself as a pupil of *Sūra* himself:

तस्यापि शूरनामाभूत् \* \* \* |  
\* \* \* \*  
बहुधेत्यं शिवज्ञानमेतस्मादेव देशिकात् ॥  
अधीत्य देवभट्टेन प्रोक्ता सन्तानसंकथा ॥

See MD. 15330.

No. 11 is *Gurupañktistotra*, MD. 15332. After praying to gods *Gaṇeśa* and *Kumāra*, the hymn praises *Durvāsas*, *Vasugupta*, *Somānanda*, *Utpala*, *Abhinavagupta* and *Kṣemarāja*. The hymn closes with verses on *Abhinavagupta*.

No. 12. is *Daśaślokī* of *Śrī Vidyācakravarttin* who has commented upon *Virūpākṣa* *pañcāśikā* also (TSS).

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1. M.T.=Triennial Catalogues of the Madras Govt. Ori MSS., Library,

No. 14 is a new metrical commentary on the Anuttara trimśikā; it is anonymous, though the Madras Catalogue wrongly ascribes to Abhinavagupta. M.D. 15335. It follows the views of Utpala and the commentaries of Abhinavagupta. The author may be a southerner since reference is made to Śiva at Cidambaram (Vyāghrapura). The work cites the Yogavāsiṣṭha:

तदेतद् राघवायोक्तं वसिष्ठेन महात्मना । p. 55.

The last work in the ms., no. 21, is Bhiṣag Devarāja's Śivasūtravārttika.



## TOLKAPPIYAM

BY

DR. P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., PH. D.

### iv. *Vili-marapu*

118. விலிமெனப் படுப தொன்றும் பெயரூ@

தெளியத் தொன்று மீயற்கை வென்ப.

*Vili-y-ena-p paṭupa kollum peyarotu*  
*Teliya-t tōṇru m-iyarkaiya v-enpa.*

They say that what is called *vili* or the vocative case is of the nature of being explicitly seen in words which take a special form in the vocative case.

*Note 1.* The meaning of the vocative case is not mentioned here since the name *vili* itself suggests it.

*Note 2.* The expression *Kollum peyarotu* suggests that there are certain *peyar* which do not take a special form in the vocative case.

119. அவ்வை

இவ்வை வற்தற்கு மூயபெறக் கிடைப்ப.

*A-v-v-ē*

*Iv-v-ena v-aritarku mey-peera-k kilappa.*

In order to understand what the words which take a special form in the vocative case are, they will be explicitly mentioned.

*Note 1.* Since the following sūtras explicitly mention the change which words undergo in the vocative case, I am at a loss to understand the exact need for this sūtra.

*Note 2.* The word *av<sup>2</sup>* denotes *vili-kol-peyar* according to *Cēnāvāraiyan* and words in the vocative case according to *Teyvaccilaiyār*. *Cēnāvāraiyan* himself condemns the latter interpretation since *avaitām* in the next sūtra will not suit well.

1. The root *vili* means 'to call', 'to summon'.

2. *Av* and *Avoi* have the same meaning.

## 120. அவைதாம்

இட ஜா வென்னு மிறுதி  
யப்பா ணங்கே யுயர்தினை மருங்கின்  
கூய்ப்பொருள் சுட்டிய விளிகொள் பெயரே.

*Avai-tām*

*I-u ai-ō v-en̄nu m-iruti  
y-ap̄pā nāṅkē y-uyartīnai marunkin̄  
mey-p̄-poru! cuṭṭiya vili-kol̄ peyarē.*

Among *uyartīnai* nouns those which clearly undergo modification in the vocative case are those that end in the vowels *i*, *u*, *ai*, and *ō*.

Note i. The expression *Avai-tām* may be taken as a separate *adhikāra sūtra* since it has to be taken along with the sūtra 128 or it may be taken there by *anuvṛti*.

Note ii. Teyvaccilaiyār reads *Avarru!* in place of *Avaitām* in the sūtra.

## 121. அவற்றான்

இச யாடும் ஜயா யாகும்.

*Avarru!*

*Ii y-ādum ai-y-ā y-ākum.*

Of them nouns ending in *i* change *i* to *ī* and those ending in *ai* change it to *āy*.

Ex. *Oṇtoṭī nāñilan̄ ivan̄* (Kalit. 61)

(Oh lady with lustrous armlets, this man has no modesty)

*Teri-y-ilāy nī-yu-niñ kīlum panara* (Kalit. 39)

(Oh lady with nice ornaments, in order that you may join with your lover)

## 122. ஒவும் உவும் எவொடு சிவனும்.

*Ō-v-um u-v-um ē-y- oṭu civanum.*

(Of them) nouns ending in *ō* and *ū* take *ē* after them.

Ex. *ceruppin...kōvā* (Pativru. 21)

(Oh the King of the mountain called *ceruppu* vente....  
*tavāliyar* (Pativru 14))

(Oh King may you be free from destruction)

Note 1. The *u* referred to in this sūtra is *Kurriyalukara* which is evident from the following sutra.

Note 2. *Avarru!* follows in this sūtra from sūtra 121.

123. உகர தானே குற்றிய ஒகரம்.  
*Ukaran tāñ-ē kurriya lukaram.*

The ‘u’ referred to above is *kurriyalukaram*.

124. எனை யுயிரே யுயர்த்தினை மருங்கிற  
 மூங்விளி சொள்ளா வென்மனார் புலவர்.  
*Enai y-uyir-ē y-uyartinai marunkir  
 Rām-vili kollā v-enmañār pulavar.*

Learned men say that *Uyartinai* nouns ending in other vowels do not undergo change in form in the vocative case.

Note. The word *uyir* in this sūtra has to be interpreted as a noun ending in an *uyir* and hence suggests the *paribhāṣā* that final elements refer to the words having them as finals.

125. அனபெடை மிகூ மிகா விறபெய  
 ரியற்கை வாகுஞ் செயற்கை வென்ப.  
*Alapeṭai mikū m-ikara v-iṟupēya  
 R-iyar̄kaiya v-ākuñ ceyarkaiya v-enpa.*

They say that the nouns having *i* as *alapeṭai* at the end do not change *i* to *ī* but take only ‘*i*’ after them.

Ex. *tolī i i...* (Kalit. 103).  
 (O friend...)

Note. Ilampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār take this sūtra to mean that words ending in *alapeṭai i* do not undergo any modification. But in literature we find forms like *tōlī*. Cēñāvaraiyār and Naccinārkkiniyār on the other hand interpret that words ending in *i* having three mātrās add *i* alone in the vocative case. The only mistake in the interpretation of the latter two is that they take *alapeṭai* to have three mātrās.

126. முருதப்பெயர் மருங்கி சௌஷ னிறுதி  
 யாவொடு வருதற் குரியவு முனவே.  
*Murai-p-peyar maruṅki n-ai-y-e n-iruti  
 y-ā-v-oṭu varutay kuriya-v-u m-uļavē.*

There are some in words of relationship ending in *ai* that even change to *ā* (in place of *ā*).

Ex. *Annai* (Mother) *Annā* (Oh mother)  
 Note. The particle *um* suggests that there is the form *annāy* also.

127. அன்னமைச் சொல்லே யியற்கை யாகும்.  
*Anmai-c col-l-ē y-iyar̄kai y-ākum.*

Word in the vocative case which is used to call one near at hand undergoes no modification.

*Ex.* Kāniya vā tōli (Kalit. 42).

(Oh friend, come to see)

Nī nītu vāliya neṭuntakai (Pūra. 55).

(Oh King of long fame, may you live long)

Note. Though the word *anmai-c-col* literally means ‘word at-hand,’ yet it means here ‘the word which is used to call one near at hand’.

128. ஏரலள் வென்னு மங்கான் தென்ப  
புள்ளி யிறுதி விலிகொன் பெயரே.

*Na-ra-la-la v-ennu m-a-n-nān k-enpa*  
*Pulli y-iruti vilī-kol peyar-e.*

Of the words that end in consonants, only those which end in one of the four consonants *n*, *r*, *l* and *!l*, undergo modification in the vocative case.

Note. 1 *Avai-tām* is to be taken here from sūtra 120.

Note. 2 It is worthy of note that, later on, words ending in *ŋ* also underwent modification in the vocative case.

*cf.* Uṇkaṇṇāy (Kalit. 37).

(Oh lady with anointed eyes)

129. ஏணப் புள்ளி யிறுவினி கொள்ளா.

*Ēṇai-p pulli y-iru-vili kollā..*

Words ending in other consonants do not undergo change in the vocative case.

Note. This sūtra may as well be omitted since its purpose is served by the previous one.

130. அவற்றுள்

அன்னை னிறுதி யாவா கும்மே.

*Avarru!*

*An-ŋ-e ŋ-iruti y-ā-v-ā kum-m-ē.*

Of them those that end in *an* change it to *ā*.

*Ex.* cēkā.. (Kalit. 22)

(Oh servant..)

131. அன்கமைச் சொல்லித் தூர மாகும்.

*Anmai-c col-lir k-akara m-akum.*

*An̄* in *an̄mai-c-col* is changed to *a*.

Ex. Perum-paṭai-t-t-laiva (Patirru. 24).

(Oh lord of a large army)

Note. In '*vātuvan vāliya nī* (Kalit. 96) there is no modification in *vātuvan*.

132. அனெ னிறுதி யியற்கை யாகும்.

*An-e n-iruti y-iyarkai y-ākum.*

Words ending in *ān̄* do not undergo any change.

Ex. cēramān̄

(Oh cēramān̄)

133. தெப்பிலிர் கூறு மானெ னிறுதி

யபயர் கும்பேம் விளிவயி ஞெ.

*Tolilir kūru m-ān-e n-iruti  
y-āy-ā kum-m-ē vilivayi n-āna.*

Verbal and gerundial nouns ending in *ān̄* change *ān̄* to *ā* in the vocative case.

Ex. Aliyum uṭaiyōy (Pura. 2).

[Oh (king) who has mercy]

Note. *A* in *āy* changes to *ō* by Tol. col. 195.

134. பங்குகாள் பெயரு மத்தே ஏத்தே.

*Pan̄pu-kol̄ peyar-u m-atañō r-arre.*

Words denoting quality also are of the same nature.

Ex. Neytalankānal neṭiyōy (Pura. 10).

(Oh king of long decent at the place Neytalankānal.)

135. அளபெடைப் பெயரே யளபெடை யியல.

*Alapeṭai-p̄ peyar-ē y-alapeṭai y-iyala.*

Words having *alapeṭai* before the final *ṇ* are of the same nature as words ending in *alapeṭai i*.

Ex. Alāan̄

136. முகைறப்பெயர்க் கிளவி செய்யாறு வருமோ.

*Murai-p-peyar-k kiļavi y-ē-y-oṭu varum-ē.*

Words of relationship ending in *ṇ* take *ē* after them.

Ex. Yāvo v-āyinā m-āan̄ makānē (Kalit. 20).

137. தானென் பெயருஞ் சட்டமுதற் பெயரும்  
யானென் பெயரும் விலைவின் பெயரு  
மன்றி யனைத்தும் விளிகோ விலவே.

*Tān-en peyar-uñ cuṭṭu-mutar̄ peyar-um  
yān-en peyar-um viṇā-v-in peyaru  
m-anri y-anaitium vili-kō l-ilā-v-ē.*

The pronouns *tān*, *avan*, *ivan*, *uvan*, *yān*, *yāvan* etc., do not take the vocative case.

138. ஆரு மருவு மீரோடு சிவனும்.  
*Ār-u m-ar-uvu m-īr-oṭu civaṇum.*

Words ending in *ār* and *ar* change to *īr*.

*Ex.* *Peṇṭir-um piṇi-y-uṭaiy-īrum..num araṇ cērmin* (Pura 9.)

(Oh women and those who are ill retire to your place of safety)

*Porrumin maravir* (Pura. 104).

(Oh brave warriors, protect)

Note. In ‘*pāṇar kāṇkivāñ kaṭumpinatiṭumpai* (Pura. 173). *Pāṇar* undergoes no modification in the vocative case.

139. செய்திதபெய ராயி சேகாரம் வருதலும்  
வழக்கின் சென்மனூர் வயங்கி சோசே.

*Tolir-peya r-āyi u-ekāram varutalum  
valukkin r-eṇmanār vayaṅki yōrē.*

Those who know the usage say that it is not wrong if verbal and gerundial nouns take *ē* also in addition to the modification mentioned in the previous sūtra.

*Ex.* *ciru-kuṭi-y īre...(Kalit. 39).*

(Oh citizens of small hamlets...)

140. பண்புகொள் பெயரு மத்தே ராத்தே.  
*Panpu-kol̄ peyar-u m-atañō rāyē.*

Words denoting quality also are of the same nature.

*Ex.* *Pal-cāṇrirē..(Pura. 195).*

(Oh men of many qualities ..)

141. அபைபைடப் பெயரே அபைபைட யியல்.  
*Alapeṭai-p̄ peyarē y-alapeṭai y-iyala.*

Words ending in *p* and preceded by *alapeṭai* are of the same nature as nouns having *alapeṭai* mentioned before.

*Ex. cirāar..(Pura. 29).*

(Oh young men)

142. சட்டமுதற் பெயரே முற்கிளக் தன்ற.

*Cuṭṭu-mutar̍ peyarē mur-killan tanṇa.*

Demonstrative pronouns ending in *r* are of the nature of demonstrative pronouns ending in *n* mentioned above (*i.e.*) they do not take vocative case.

143. தமிலின் திரிபெயர் வினாவின் பெயரென்  
நுழைத் திரண்டு மலத்தியல் பியலும்.

*Num-m-in̍ tiri̍ peyar̍ viñā-viñā-r-in̍ peyar-en̍*  
*r-a-m̍ murai̍ y iran̍tu m-avarriyal p-iyalum.*

Niyar, the modified form of *num* and interrogative pronouns ending in *r* are of the same nature.

Note. *Niyir* is said to be the modified form of *num* in *alvali-p-puṇarcci* cf. *Tol. Elut.*

144. ஏஞ்சிய விரண்டு னிறுதிப் பெயரே

கின்ற விழ்ம வீட்டும் வேண்டும்.

*En̍ciya v-iran̍ti n̍-iruti-p̍ peyar̍-ē*  
*niñ̍ra v-irraya niñ̍tam̍ vēñ̍tum̍.*

Nouns ending in the other two (*i.e.*) *l* and *t̍* have their penultimate vowel lengthened.

*Ex. On̍nutal namakku avar varutum (Kalit. 35).*

(Oh lady with lustrous forehead, he will come to us.)

Vayamān *roñral*(Pura. 44) and *Tiñṭeraññal* in Pura. 198.

Note. *Kuricil* in Pura. are used without lengthening the penultimate vowel.

145. அயனேடு தாயி னியற்றை அகும்.

*Ayan̍eṭi tāyi n̍-iyarkai y-ākum.*

If the penultimate is long, they undergo no change.

*Ex. Mañṭamar aṭṭa matañṭai nōñrāl. (Pura. 213)*

(Oh king of wonderful effort and strength so as to win in a strong fight)

Note. There is *alapeṭai* in the vocative *puli kaṭi māal* in Pura. 201.

146. வினையினும் பண்பினு

கினையத் தொன்று மாளெ னிறுதி  
ஏவா கும்பே வினிமை குள.

*Vinai-y in um panpiṇu  
Niṇaiya-t tōṇru m-āl-e-ū iṇuti  
y-āy-ā kum-m-ē vili vayi n-āna.*

Verbal and participial nouns denoting quality ending in *āl* change *āl* to *āy* in the vocative case.

*Ex.* Ilaiyōy kiṇaiyai maṇ-ṇ-eṇkēl veyyōṛku. (Pura. 144)  
(Oh young lady, are you related to him who is eager of our friendship?)

147. முதைப்பெயர்க் கிளவி முதைப்பெய ரியல்.

*Murai-p peyar-k kiḷavi murai-p-peya r-iyala.*

Words denoting relationship ending in *!* are of the same nature as those ending in *n*.

*Ex.* makalē vā.

Note. The word *vēl* has taken *ē* after it in Pura. 201 in analogy with words of relationship.

148. சட்டமுதற் பெயரும் வினாவின் பெயரு  
முத்தின் தன்ன வென்மனார் புலவர்.

*Cutṭu-mutar peyar-um vinā-v-in peyar-u  
mur-kiḷan t-anṇa v-enmanār pulavar.*

Learned men say that demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns ending in *!* are of the same nature as those mentioned above; (*i.e.*) they do not take vocative case.

149. அளப்பைப் பெயரே அளப்பை யியல்.

*Alapeṭai-p peyar-ē y-alapeṭai y-iyala.*

Words ending in *!* preceded by *alapeṭai* are of the same nature as those which end in *n* and *r* preceded by *alapeṭai*

*Ex.* valam puri-t taṭakkai māal

(Oh Viṣṇu having conch in your hand)

Mēvār t-tolaitta varāṇ miku vēl

(Oh vēl with great valour who has routed the enemies.)

Note. Considering *vātuvaṇ Pāṇar*, *Kuricil*, *tōṇral* as vocative case without any modification in form, I am led to believe that there might have been here a sūtra '*Aṇmai c collē y iyarkai y ākum*' similar to sūtra 127 to apply for nouns ending in consonants.

150. கிளங்க விறுதி யஃறினை விரவுப்பெயர்  
விளங்கிய கெற்றிய விளிக்குக் காலை.

*Kilanta v iruti y a.:rinai viravu p peyar  
Vilampiya nēiya vilikkun kālai.*

Nouns common to *uyartinai* and *ariṇai* ending in the four vowels and consonants mentioned above undergo the same modification in the vocative case when they are used in *a.:rinai*.

*Ex.* Cāttā, Cāttī, Kurutā, Kurutī etc.

151. புள்ளியு முயிரு மிறுதி யாகிய  
வகிறினை மருங்கி னெல்லாப் பெயரும்  
வினிசிலை பெறுஉங் காலங் தொன்றிழ்  
தெளிவிலை யுடைய வேகாரம் வரலே.

*Pulli y u m iyir u m iruti y ākiya  
V a.:riṇai maruṅki n elli p peyar un  
Viḷi nilai perūnun Kālam tōṇrir  
Reḷi nilai y uṭaiya v ēkāram varal ē.*

All nouns in *a.:rinai* consonants and vowels take *ē* after them in the vocative case. Nāyirē en keļvan̄ yāñku uļan̄ āyi-num kāt̄timē (Kalit. 147).

(Oh sun, will you not show me my lover wherever he is?)

*Ex.* Vāli y er̄ puṇarnta pālē. (Pura. 176).

(Oh my fate! may you prosper!)

Evvali nallavar̄ āṭavar, avvali nallai vāliya nilanē (Pura. 187)

(Oh earth! may you prosper since you are good because people there are good)

Note. Expressions like '*Elu v ini neñcam*' in Pura. 207 show that sometimes even *a.:riṇai* nouns undergo no modification in vocative case.

152. உள்வெளாப் பட்ட வெல்லாப் பெயரு  
மளபிறங் தனவே வினிக்குங் காலைச்  
செய்மையி னிகைக்கும் வழக்கத் தான்.  
*Ula v ena p paṭṭa v ellā p peyaru  
M alap iṛan tāna v ē vilikkiñ k ālai c  
Cēymai y i n icaikkum valakkat tāna.*

All the nouns which are said to undergo modification in the vocative case increase the quantity of the vowels when they are used to summon persons or objects at a distance.

*Ex.* Nari kātaler varuvar kol vayankilāay (Kalit. 11).

(Will my lover return, oh friend with shining ornaments)  
 cutar t toṭēi kēlāy (Kalit. 30.)

(Oh lady with shining ornaments, listen)

153. அம்ம வென்னு மகச்சொன் வீட்ட

மத்துறைப் பெயரோடு சிவனு தாழினும்  
 விளியொடு கொள்ப தெளியு ஓாரே.

*Amma v ennu m acai c con nūṭa*

*M a m murai p peyarōtu civanā tāyinum*

*Vili y oṭu kolpa teliyu m orē.*

Scholars take that the word *amma* used to draw the attention of the hearer, takes the vocative case and lengthens its final though it is not included among words of relationship.

*Ex.* Nakaiyin mikkataŋ kāmānum onrenpa v ammā (Kalit. 147).

154. தநு என வலவமுத லாகித்

தன்மை குறித்த னரளவை னிறுதியு

மன்ன பிறவும் பெயர்நிலை வரினே

யின்மை வெண்டும் விளியொடு கொள்லே.

*Ta na nu e ena vanava muta l āki t*

*Tanmai kuritta na ra la v e n irutiyu*

*M anna pira v um peyar nilai varin ē*

*Y inmai vēntum vili y oṭu kolal ē.*

Words commencing with *t*, *n*, and *nu* and ending in *n*, *r* and *!* and denoting relationship and those of the same nature, do not take vocative case.

Note. Such words are *taman*, *tamal*, *tamar*, *naman*, *namał*, *namar*, *numan*, *numal*, *numar*, *eman*, *emal* *emar* etc.

*Vili marapiyal ends.*





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